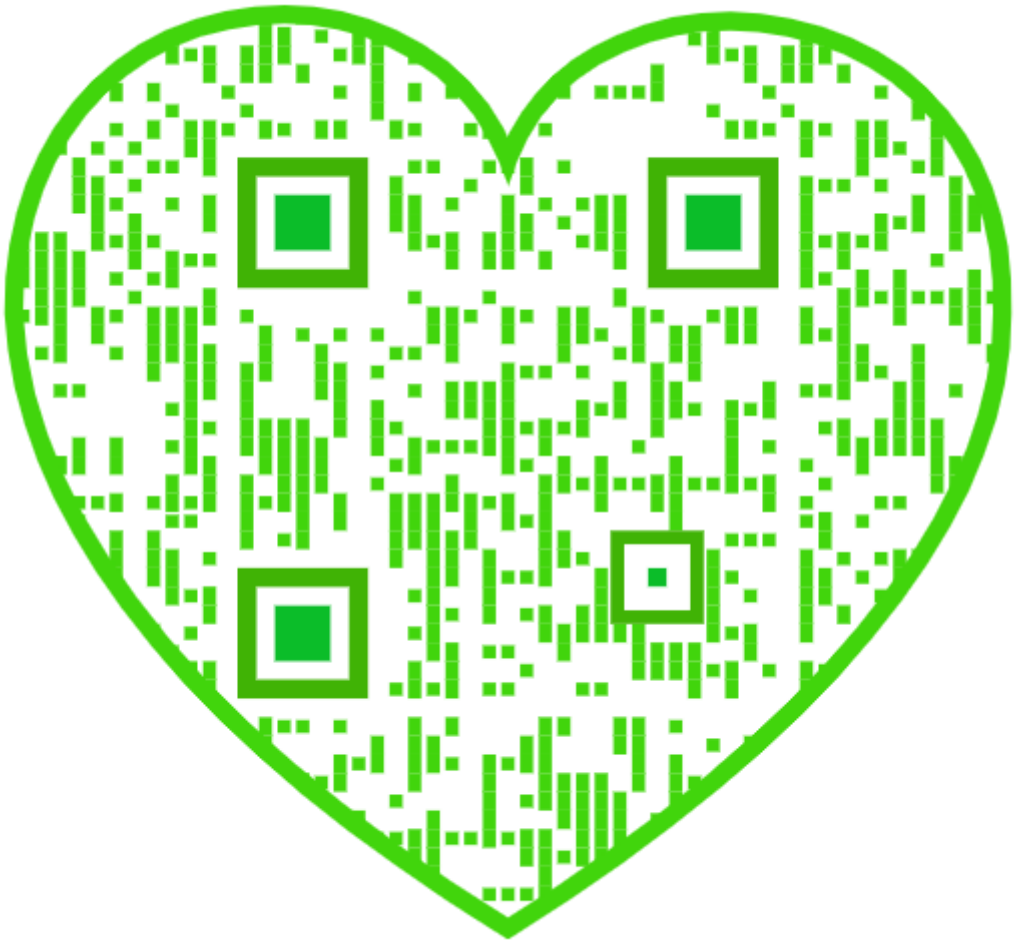

GOLDEN RULES

OF

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY;

OR,

A NEW SYSTEM

OF

PRACTICAL ETHICS.

BY SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND TO BE HAD OF ALL BOOKSELLERS.

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TO SIMON BOLIVAR,

THE LIBERATOR.

SIR,

To what living personage can I so properly dedicate a work on the social duties of men, as to the founder of many independent states? I regard myself as fortunate in being even the contemporary of a character whose public virtues and disinterested patriotism transcend not merely every example presented by history, but surpass all that philosophy could have expected to see realized; and I present, therefore, to such a man, the homage of my affections, and the intellectual products of my life.

In various forms this book embraces

most of the subjects on which a founder of empires can be supposed to be engaged in practice or speculation; and it may, in the estimation of foreigners, add something to the worth of the sentiments inculcated, that they are the fruits of the experience of an Englishman who has passed a life of action and observation in that country in which all principles that exalt human nature have been effectively cultivated, and publicly or privately exhibited in practice.

The maxims in this volume are, therefore, drawn from the school of British experience, and they are in that sense more valuable than mere closet speculations; at the same time, they have been expressed with more intellectual independence than could be felt or exercised by writers of other ages, when fewer principles had been developed, or in countries where restraints on the press operate as fetters on the mind, even of the most courageous and independent.

Of course I do not assume that many of my countrymen could not have done more credit to the national wisdom,—but I have done my best, and have set an example which I shall be happy to see followed by others with more success. My utmost ambition will be gratified if the doctrines inculcated in this work prove useful to nations who are not too old, and too wise, to receive instruction; and, above all, if they should be honoured by your attention and approbation.

I have for above forty years contemplated the prostrate condition of South America, and have viewed with grief the inutility of the numerous capabilities of those provinces which, by your arm and example, have now become independent nations. I have deeply sympathized in their struggles, and lamented the mischiefs which it has too often been in the power of vengeful, because imbecile, tyranny to inflict. I had the gratification to be personally known to that superior being

MIRANDA, and his tragical end left me almost without hope; but, happily for South America, and honourably for human nature, a BOLIVAR arose, who combined the zeal of Miranda with the public virtues of a WASHINGTON and the military prowess of a NAPOLEON. The circumstances required such a man; but to expect him to appear was the anticipation of a prodigy,—yet he did appear,—and that prodigy you have proved yourself.

SIMON BOLIVAR will, therefore, in the records of humanity, rank foremost among the great and good; and, while North America may challenge the old continent for a parallel to her WASHINGTON, South America may challenge all history for a parallel to her BOLIVAR!

How often have the virtuous struggles of the human race, to emancipate themselves from the fetters of craft and abused power, been thwarted by the personal ambition, or rather folly, of those military

leaders to whom the defence of the public cause had been entrusted! Fatal experience seemed to prove, that sacrifices were always to be made in vain, and that mankind had nothing to hope, because the overthrow of one tyranny led only to another, accompanied by the turpitude of bad faith and insulting usurpation. It is therefore a new era in the history of the world to behold the victorious leader of armies shrinking from the distinctions which a grateful people seek to bestow upon him; declining powers which he might plausibly wield for the public service, rather than render his patriotism equivocal or suspicious; and honestly declaring that, when he has vanquished the enemy, and organized free governments, he will look on his glorious works in the capacity of a mere PRIVATE CITIZEN.

Such, however, is the conduct dictated by true wisdom; for what hereafter will

be all titles of power, all distinctions of society, all thrones and diadems, all royal and imperial titles, compared with the having been a BOLIVAR!

Forgive, Sir, this strain of admiration; and regard it as the language of principle, dictated by duty and truth.

R. PHILLIPS.

London, Dec. 13, 1825.

PREFACE.

THIS volume is the production of a practical man, who has acquired many of the truths and principles which it exhibits by his personal experience, others by his intercourse with men of appropriate intelligence, and many by prolonged meditation on the subjects of which he has ventured to treat.

Though many of his topics are so familiar and so operative on men's fortunes and happiness, that it might be expected ingenuity had exhausted itself in analyzing and discussing them, yet their very homeliness seems to have been a cause of neglect, and the exposition, at least of most of the subjects, is now attempted for the first time.

They presented no crowns to literary

ambition, no materials for poetry, no regions for new discovery; they appertained in no respect to the researches of the closet; and they were for the most part too familiar and too useful to be engrafted on learned and fashionable education. Hence the Author undertook a task in which he has throughout been called upon to think for himself, and has been able to draw little or nothing from the stores or suggestions of others; while his plan compelled him to adventure opinions on many subjects in which the passions and interests of mankind are intensely involved.

To render such a work really useful,—to tell the truth, and the whole truth,—required fearless honesty; and, to tell nothing but the truth, much anxious discrimination. In regard to the former quality, he would, if he thought his work sufficiently important, re-act the part of Lycurgus, and seal his doctrines by self-devotion; and in regard to the latter, if

he has erred, his mistakes have not sprung from corruption, from love of antithesis or novelty, or from any sentiment tending to create despair or discontent; for he is not a man of a gloomy spirit, but at the same time is in earnest; and he conceives that men would always be better, if they were wiser, and that, when they err, it is either from miscalculation or from ignorance.

Some of the articles in this volume have been for many years before the public, as those on MAGISTRATES, SHERIFFS, ELECTORS, JURORS, and PARISH PRIESTS; others are partly new or newly arranged and amalgamated; while about half the volume has been expressly written to confer completeness on the design. Of the Golden Rules for Electors and Jurymen, perhaps half a million of copies have in sundry forms, and at various periods, been distributed, and it may be hoped, with useful effect. The others have had a more limited circulation; but, as each addresses

a distinct class, few persons possess more than that which applies to the duties of their own station.

As time and much public approbation have conferred character on these, the Author has no solicitude in laying them in this new form before the world. It would gratify him if he could believe that he has succeeded equally well in the new articles. That addressed to SOVEREIGNS must necessarily be useless to reigning princes, who will conceive that they at least know their duties, as well as one who has viewed courts chiefly at a distance, and under all the disguises of long-studied systems. His maxims are, therefore, those of a subject, who knows better what a king ought to do, than what he is able to do. In this sense, however, the sentiments of a Subject may not be unuseful, while, as part of the education of princes, such a condensation of duties and principles cannot fail to be beneficial.

LEGISLATORS and JOURNALISTS are classes who, if not so powerful and so much flattered as reigning princes, are nevertheless powerful enough to be intractable in regard to instruction, and too wise in their own opinions to conceive they require any. Yet, in regard to the former, the younger members may be wrought upon; and, to the latter, if they cannot reform themselves, an honest exposure of their foibles and vices will render them less mischievous to an enlightened public.

The least tractable class whom the Author has presumed to address, are the PHILOSOPHERS,—those flexible patients of their reason,—those votaries of truth,—those dispassionate examples of human wisdom! They are so thoroughly satisfied with the systems which were constructed in the twilights of knowledge by venerated personages, and sustained by venerable institutions, that the Author frankly confesses he considers the pages

dedicated to them as utterly useless; except, indeed, it be with those who have not publicly taught errors, who have not written books in error, who do not *profess* errors, who consider authority as inferior to reason, and who, of the rising generation, happily are indifferent either to truth or falsehood, but will instinctively prefer the former.

As the work has, throughout, sprung from the mind of the author, so he has freely asserted his own opinions, whether they accord or not with the predilections of the age. In speculations of this nature, he respects no authority, in regard to truth, but his own convictions. If these are erroneous, he shall be happy to see them corrected, and be forward in entering into explanations with liberal enquirers. He has no affection for any opinions for their own sake. He has no fear of censure, for this depends chiefly on the re-action of the prejudices, interests, and passions, of those who inflict it; and

he has little to hope from praise, because this tardy and silent energy is generally overwhelmed by the boisterous clamours of those who think their wisdom is best displayed by the severity and dogmatism of their animadversions.

The sole object of the Author has been to be useful; and he is content with the feeling, that he has attempted to be so. He has anxiously inculcated all the charities of life, and all the virtues of sound morals, or at least what he considers to be such; he has endeavoured to make men wiser and happier, and has even extended his code of sympathy to the brute creation. Without co-operation, his labours would be useless: he hopes, therefore, that they will be duly appreciated by the wise and benevolent; and, as to the rest, he is utterly and inflexibly indifferent.

In addressing so many interests, the author is aware that he appears to throw down the gauntlet of defiance to many prejudices,—may be considered as wantonly assailing much self-love,—and be in danger

of drawing upon himself the rage of nests of buzzing, though perfectly harmless, critics. For these possible results he is sorry, because he courts the tranquillity of retirement, and abhors controversy; but he should have compromised his character, and failed in the object of his work, if he had been influenced by any considerations besides his devotion to truth, and his respect for the sound intelligence of the age in which he writes.

If, perchance, any individual should see, as in a mirror, the portrait of his own foibles, vices, or deformities, he must consider the paragraph as performing the mere optical powers of a mirror; for, throughout the work, the Author has not written at any individual, and has strictly avoided any allusion to contemporary personages; his work being, as he presumes, addressed to human nature in the abstract, and of all ages and countries.

Pretensions to infallibility would be inconsistent with the principles and feelings

of the Author. As he affects no power of the kind, he will be highly gratified at receiving, or at seeing in print, any free and candid animadversions on any of the multifarious doctrines in his book; and will assiduously avail himself of them, if it should, in his time, arrive at a second edition. In that respect, a modern author, bound in the fetters of a large edition, does not possess the advantages of the ancient writers, who, while every copy was an edition, had it in their power to correct from day to day, and, thereby, to reduce their language and reasonings to that degree of mathematical precision which is their resulting characteristic. To be useful, an author must be respected; and, to be respected, he must be as perfect as possible; and the Author of the present work confesses that he has an ambition to be useful,—and that such ambition has been the stimulus of his exertions; while, in the quality of perfection, he defers to others, and expects no homage beyond the

small share which self-love may think proper to concede.

Writers of adages and maxims too generally sacrifice truth to antitheses, and to mere graces of composition. The present writer affects no more than to state what is true, in a plain way. His sole ambition is to be understood; and his points and graces lie entirely in the force with which he has endeavoured to impress his readers, in regard to truths of which he himself felt a thorough conviction. He has deferred to no prejudices, for he respects none; and if he had done so, his book would but have added to the useless lumber of libraries. He has assailed many prejudices, but not all: this would be a task which would have appalled Hercules himself, for they are almost as numerous as men's ideas; and books in general, at least successful books, do but flatter, foster, and sustain them. He has, however, assailed enow to draw on himself the hostility of their

friends; but, accustomed to think for himself, and having imposed a task on himself, he has scorned to compromise with fraud and falsehood. His labour will only be lost, if it fail to confer on many men more just and accurate modes of thinking on many important subjects, —if it do not uproot many mischievous prejudices, which retard the improvement of society,—and if it do not in some degree arrest the triumph of some of those primitive systems by which mankind, in spite of their alleged civilization, continue to be deluded. Nevertheless he is not a cynic,—for it will be seen, that he is no niggard of praise wherever it is due; that he has extolled virtue in every form in which it can gladden the heart; and that he has exalted all that is true, wherever and in whatever it serves to honour the understanding.

After the greater part of this volume had been printed, the Author discovered that ISOCRATES, in an epistle to Nicocles,

King of Cyprus, had composed adages for kings; and, in another epistle, adages for subjects. He was so much struck with the coincidence of plan, that he prepared translations, and intended to annex them as an appendix, hoping at once to add to the value of the volume, and to shew the differences with which a Greek and an Englishman treated the same subjects at the distance of two thousand years. The circumstances, however, which are alluded to in the postscript, led him at once to close his work; but, if the spirit of his observations should gratify the public, he may be induced at some future period to print a second volume, containing other articles of his own in the same method of composition, with these articles of Isocrates, and some others highly curious, though neglected.

If the circumstances noticed in the POSTSCRIPT to this work had occurred before this volume had been written, and *almost* printed, it *never* would have had

existence, for the Author as well as the people of England will probably have other cares than those of speculations in philosophy and morals; and the luxuries of life and literature must, for many years, yield in Britain to the wants of the hour, and the warfare of self-interest.

In the anticipations of the Author, the Sun of England's glory has set upon this generation. Whether ministers of more public spirit, and of more refined sympathy with the wants of the nation, can raise it again, is a question which time only can solve. Every conclusion of experience is adverse to the supposition. Credit is suspicion asleep, and suspicion has been so aroused, that it can scarcely be lulled again in regard to the same parties and the same country. A nation, like an individual, or like a woman, cannot lose its character and afterwards re-enjoy it. We may exist like cattle on the soil, but never again in the same mutual confidence and

credit; and, by consequence, in equal plenitude of wealth and power.

Let the parliament, the king, and the people, adjust this question with that minister who, in the hour of public phrenzy and despair, taunted the people in their distresses by ascribing to them sanative effects, and quoting the commonplace adage, that "the evil would cure itself."

It may be so, it may cure itself, but woe to the generation on which the cure is performed. It cannot be an age either of philosophy, literature, or speculation; but it will be in an iron age, in which the worst passions will triumph over virtue; and in which struggles for wisdom will be lost in personal contests for bread and existence.

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ERRATA.

Page 319, Art. VI. for "return," read "returns."

Page 360, line 3 from bottom, for "which," read "while."

The Binder is requested to insert the eight pages E in their proper place.*

GOLDEN RULES

OF

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY.

GOLDEN RULES FOR SOVEREIGN PRINCES.

I.

Sovereign Princes should never forget that their office is created and upheld for the general benefit of the community, and that every Sovereign exists as such solely for the advantage of the nation. They must not imagine that the people exist for the sake of sovereigns, and to add to their power and splendour; but should remember that kings are appointed for the public good, and that they are themselves mere instruments of public convenience.

II.

A sovereign should attach no personal importance to the circumstance of his happening to be the head of the state; for every cone must have an apex, every sphere a centre, and every society some head—a necessity, of which the sovereign is the creature and patient, not the creator and cause.

III.

Princes should not mistake the deference which is paid to them by the servile habits of mankind, and by the ambitious desire of obtaining their favour, for any proof that the homage is created by any sense of real inferiority in those who display it, or any actual animal superiority in the sovereign; but should consider all such deference as arising from the desire to please, in the hope of profiting by the royal power and favour.

IV.

Every sovereign holds his station under the laws, customs, and constitution, of the country; and these he is, therefore, bound to respect and protect: and they should govern the king in the policy of his government, as

much as the meanest of the people in the subjection of their conduct.

V.

The attention of princes should be chiefly directed to the welfare and happiness of those classes of their subjects who are least able to take care of themselves: a king of the nobility and gentry is sovereign but of a centum of his subjects; while the nobility and gentry are best able to take care of themselves, and, in fact, demand less of the guardianship of the sovereign than the industrious and labouring classes.

VI.

To know the condition of his people, and to enable him to protect poverty against the oppressions of abused power and wealth, every sovereign should, as a sacred duty, receive and peruse the petitions and representations of the meanest of his subjects; but, if the reception of them is personally inconvenient, then every palace-gate should be provided with a letter-box, of which the sovereign ought to keep a master-key; and letters and petitions should be freely put into it, by all

who seek redress from the power, information, and influence, of the sovereign.

VII.

The character of a sovereign is determined by that of his ministers; these, therefore, ought to be selected according to their ability, and promoted according to their industry, fidelity, and integrity. The sovereign who, from any consideration, continues an unworthy minister in office, ceases to be duly considerate either of the benefit of his people or of the honour of his throne.

VIII.

It is the business of the sovereign to assign the duties of his ministers; to take care that they embrace every interest of his subjects; to distribute them in such manner that no one may have too much to perform; and, by classing the petitions and complaints of his subjects, to determine which service of the state is inefficiently or properly performed.

IX.

A sovereign should constantly recollect, that it is the sole object of his ministers to enrich

themselves, and aggrandize their families and connexions; and that these ulterior objects are the stimulants of all their exertions, however varied or specious;—for no minister is integrated with the state, like the sovereign; and, though the love of power and temporary notoriety may stimulate one in ten, and the ambition of doing good one in a thousand, yet the primary and the governing motive is the means of personal gratification, afforded by increase of wealth and social rank.

X.

A sovereign should be aware that the necessary and desirable immutability of laws is always at variance with the temporary advantages sought by men in office, and all subordinate agents of power; while it also thwarts their passions, and limits their display of authority. The sovereign may himself be just, amiable, and yielding to the spirit and forms of the law, but not so his numerous delegates, who may display every variety of bad as well as good character: it behoves him, therefore, to watch these agents, and apply to them, as a test, the re-action which their conduct produces among his subjects; for oppression begets

resistance, and these, in society, are like action and re-action in nature. Nevertheless, there may be refractory subjects, the pest of worthy magistracy; but, whenever any contest arises, the sovereign should beware of the false colourings by which men in office, from the highest to the lowest, sustain one another; and he should be alive to the conviction, that some mal-administration, to be corrected by his prompt exertion, may be as likely to be the cause of disaffection, as the ungovernable spirit of a subject.

XI.

As ministers have not, like sovereigns, a permanent, hereditary, and transmitted, family interest in the state, the chief security of the people against their rapacity and abuse of power is the vigilance of the sovereign, his systematic reception of the complaints of the people, and his inflexibility in discarding the unworthy from his employment and confidence; for the sovereign who is indifferent to the conduct of his ministers, delivers over his people, under the bonds of law and the duties of allegiance, to the temporary domination of selfish ministers, and deprives them of that

safeguard which they possess in the sovereign's independence of all motives beyond the love of his subjects and the glory of his name and reign.

XII.

But, while a constant jealousy should be exerted, by a good sovereign, to prevent his ministers from taking advantage of his subjects' necessary submission to power, the sovereign ought to stimulate virtuous and faithful service, by honouring and liberally rewarding merit in his ministers and servants; though he should never lose sight of the importance of making accurate discriminations,—for honours are merely titular, and cease to be received and regarded as such, if the unworthy are confounded with the worthy in their distribution, and if they are not reserved and bestowed only on unequivocal virtue and acknowledged merit.

XIII.

As the office of a king is active and executive, and the wisdom and justice of every measure depends on discriminations founded on truth, and not on the sophistry and misrepresentation by which the ears of Princes

are commonly abused, so every wise sovereign, who is duly anxious about his own reputation and that of his throne, should, on personal questions, submit any case of difficulty separately to half a-dozen persons of sound judgment, and be guided by their opinions, formally given in writing. Collective opinions of councils are deceptive, owing to the influence of individuals, to the effect of specious and often shallow eloquence, and to the reserve by which the whole truth is too frequently qualified by good manners, habitual deference, and personal delicacy.

XIV.

The sovereign who, from indolence or fear, permits one class of his subjects to oppress another, or any party to assume the authority of the state, and monopolize its power and patronage, is unworthy of his dignity, and compromises his name, character, and station. The territorial interests should not be preferred to the commercial, nor the commercial to the territorial; masters should not be encouraged to oppress their workmen and servants; the rich should not be allowed to oppress the poor; and parties, who profess a superabundance of obsequious loyalty,

should not be preferred in public employments to those who are too independent to be either obsequious or dishonest.

XV.

Every politic sovereign should occasionally visit the distant portions of his empire, receive the petitions of his people on the spot, and enquire into and rectify all abuses and errors in the administration of the local governments: and other parts, or distant colonies, which he does not examine in person, should be visited by trusty commissioners, within every seven years, with authority to enquire and report relative to mal-administration, errors of policy, oppressive operation of laws, and other subjects of dissatisfaction in the people.

XVI.

Every considerate sovereign should specially enquire into the provisions for abject and helpless poverty, and the condition of sufferers under the law,—who, in gaols and other receptacles, are deserted by all, and left to the discretion of such inferior officers as are often destitute of feeling and sympathy; for

which purpose, he should, once in three or seven years, appoint commissioners of benevolent men to visit the poor-houses and gaols of his kingdom, and report on cases of particular objects, and on abuses of management.

XVII.

In the selection of representatives of his own authority, a wise sovereign should be specially cautious that they are men of virtuous and benevolent character; and this observation applies particularly to all expounders of the law, as judges and presiding officers in courts of law,—and to all executors of the law, as sheriffs, and magistrates generally: wisdom itself in such persons will not, in practical effects on the people, atone for sternness of temper,—nor any other qualities, for the want of integrity and benevolence.

XVIII.

As it is the glorious prerogative of sovereigns to be able to ameliorate the operation of the laws, and as laws are made for extreme cases of turpitude, and the highest punishment assigned for specific crimes, so the sovereign should apply his feelings of personal

compassion to all crimes committed under circumstances which admit of excuse or palliation; and bearing in mind that, as the state has done its duty in assigning the punishment and effecting the conviction, so the mitigation is an affair of personal feeling in the sovereign, with which the opinion of no minister, or third party, ought, on any pretence, to be allowed to interfere.

XIX.

If a sovereign derive his power from hereditary title, and has been educated in his station, he is too often as utterly ignorant of the social relations of man to man, and of the passions and wants of the population over whom he is placed, as a blind man of colours, or a Chinese of Europeans, or a European of Japanese: as soon as he arrives at years of discretion, it should, therefore, be his sedulous care to divest his mind of the false impressions arising from viewing society through a distorted medium, and from an unfavourable position; and he should study human nature on its own general level, either by means of books which treat of the details of men's pursuits, or by travelling and mingling with society *incognito*.

XX.

The reasoning faculties of an hereditary sovereign may be sufficiently developed by the incidents of the circle in which he moves; but, as every animal power is improved by exercise, and the reasoning powers are perfected, like the muscular, by exertions of unremitting labour, which princes are not called upon to make, so every prince should habitually defer to the judgment of men of experience, whose faculties have been forced into exertion; and should suspect, as base flatterers, all those who extol his own superior wisdom and pre-eminent vigour of intellect. Society may be compared to a wheel, the successive ranks in one, being, in numbers, like the progressive circles from the axle to the periphery; the circumstance of position neither changes the material nor improves it, but, on the contrary the exertion, or action and re-action, of every part, is as the distance from the centre,—or, maintaining the analogy, the intellectual vigour of the several gradations (opportunities of information being alike) will generally be as the distance from the centre.

XXI.

The ordinary trappings of royalty were invented in barbarous ages, to impress the superstitious vulgar; but, as knowledge spreads faster than improvements in means of personal ornament, so these lose their power of fascination; and a sovereign in a brilliant dress, or expensive procession, rises no higher in the estimation of a civilized people than a dramatic hero in a stage pageant. In such displays, sovereigns should not excuse the indulgence of their personal vanity by the selfish sophistry that they thereby circulate their subjects' money; for those from whom it is taken, had it not to spare, and it would be likely to be used by them with quite as much advantage to the community as by the sovereign.

XXII.

Though the laws of God forbid man to shed man's blood, and charge us to commit no murder, yet the necessity of defending a country against foreign intrusion renders it justifiable to repel force by force, and, if necessary, to kill the assailants: hence, the usages of society have placed, in the hands of

kings, the power of conducting the public defence; and, for that particular purpose, have considered murders as no crime. This license to commit homicide extends, however, no further than to wars strictly of self-defence; and it behoves a sovereign, who would not be considered as a lawless murderer, and as such be held in detestation by the wise and good, never to embark in wars of speculative or problematical origin,—wars of calculation or policy, depending on his fallible judgment,—or wars for purposes of expected aggrandisement, or increase of territory.

XXIII.

A sovereign should bear in mind that, as there is no glory in homicide, and that, as he himself consigns all wilful murderers to the public executioner, so he himself deserves a similar fate, and is even more ignominious, if, without some urgent cause which admits of no equivocation, he employs forces, entrusted to him solely for the public defence, against other nations,—by which his own subjects are compelled, by their allegiance, to commit murders, or submit to be murdered; and he must never forget, that, in the estimation of wise

men, his victories, in an unjust and groundless contest, will be attended with no glory,—his soldiers and seamen be ranked as hired assassins,—and himself answerable for all the miseries, horrors, and murders, resulting from the pride, obstinacy, or passion, which misled him at the outset of the contest.

XXIV.

Sovereigns should bear in mind that, if the country which they govern is populous and powerful enough to defend itself, or respectable enough to form defensive alliances with other nations for the common security, no extension of territory is of any advantage to their own subjects; for subjects live in families, and are not severally affected by the number united under one sovereign; and, therefore, any passion in favour of extended dominion is either a vice or weakness in the mind of the sovereign, or a crafty pretence of his ministers to add to their power, influence, and patronage.

XXV.

Sovereigns ought never to adopt the atrocious maxim—that the supposed goodness of

the object to be achieved justifies any means of accomplishing it,—and that, having indefinite power in their control, they may lawfully exert it, without regard to mischief and misery, in the hope of accomplishing a design which they consider ultimately meritorious. This is the maxim of crime in every stage, from him who commits petty larceny, to the midnight murderer and hired assassin; and it has been the cause of most of the calamities of mankind, of all the atrocities of cabinets, and all the ignominy which covers the memory of so many sovereigns. That which cannot be accomplished by fair, just, and lawful, means, should never be attempted; for the glory of success will be extinguished by the means, and the disgrace of possible failure will be indelible.

XXVI.

A sovereign should always bear in mind that his subjects are rational beings; and that, although a large proportion of them may be precluded, by their daily occupations, from duly appreciating the policy of the state, yet great numbers, who are in the habit of influencing the opinions of others, estimate and

understand his conduct, and that of his ministers, with perfect intelligence: merely temporary purposes, therefore, can be achieved by any system of deception, or by any cunning inventions to mislead, delude, and entrap a nation into measures not bottomed in justice and reason. In important cases, a re-action will take place unfavourable to the honour of the sovereign, and sometimes disastrous to the state; and it should never be forgotten that the necessity for adopting any system of deception or falsehood, is a palpable proof of the unworthiness and baseness of any measure which stands in need of support by means which are fraudulent and ignominious.

XXVII.

Sovereigns should, above all things, respect the liberties of their subjects, for on this depends their security, and on their security depends their industry and the prosperity of the state. None will sow, if they do not expect to reap; and none will labour, but in the confidence of enjoying the usual reward. Liberty, at the same time, is perfectly compatible with the wise exercise of sovereign power. It is not tolerance or license, but certainty

and impartiality; not the looseness or laxity of laws, but their precision, and their equal and impartial administration, which constitutes a state of liberty. A sovereign of a nation governing it by known laws, fairly applied to all his subjects, is like the God of Nature, who effects every purpose by immutable laws, and causes all progressive phenomena to succeed with such unvarying regularity, that the manifestation of his power, and the liberty of action among its creatures, are perfectly compatible. The example of God's government in subservience to general laws, administered without respect to persons,—and which mode of government produces such a wonderful system,—ought therefore to be imperative on sovereigns of nations; and from similar causes of confidence and security, will result such degrees of industry and exertion, as will produce private happiness, public prosperity, and national glory,—social perfections, akin to the perfections of nature, under the similar government of Providence.

XXVIII.

Sovereigns are tyrants whenever they administer the laws, or distribute honours and

promotion, under the influence of personal hatred or partiality,—when they make new laws, and confer on them a retrospective and unforeseen effect,—or when they are parties in the formation of laws which confer undue advantages on one class of their subjects over another class. They are also tyrants whenever they deprive their subjects of any security against bad sovereigns or wicked ministers, by which deprivation their subjects are exposed to the discretion of fools and the mercy of knaves. Tyranny commences when the certainty, confidence, and security, of subjects cease; and these sentiments of subjects depend on the impartial rewards of merit, on the public preference of virtue over vice, on the equality of the laws, and on a fair, equitable, and honest, administration of them, which does not render them traps to the unwary, nor give to wealth and power undue advantages over poverty and weakness.

XXIX.

As a sovereign who is in possession of revenues sufficient to gratify every desirable indulgence, and with power to reward services and carry the laws into execution, requires no

higher prerogatives, and can, in truth, enjoy no higher, with advantage either to himself or the community; so he never need be jealous of any securities enjoyed or sought by the people, which do not actually encroach on his necessary powers. He ought, therefore, to view with liberality, and even with respect, any exertions of public-spirited persons who seek to improve and guard the securities of the people against abuses of power; and he should beware of the crafty misrepresentations with which his ear is in danger of being poisoned by ministers and minions, whose ascendency may be endangered by such opposition: for, although faction may sometimes assume the mask of public spirit, yet the true test of discrimination is the reality of the grievances, and the true and wise remedy, their investigation and removal.—Patriotism never becomes dangerous, except when public opinion is outraged by opposition to just pretensions; and the greatest enemies of a sovereign are those who advise him to maintain a grievance, till the nation, in embodying itself against the grievance, embodies itself also against the sovereign.

XXX.

The strength of kings is the justice of their government, the purity of their private lives, and the consequent love of their subjects. Kings, who have died in exile or ignominy, have been those who relied on the desperate stake of military adherence; and who, confiding in the delusive strength of armies, felt justified in setting public opinion at defiance: for, those who suffer themselves to be hired in support of a bad cause, may easily be corrupted in support of a better; and it is less difficult to lead many millions by their affections, than to conquer the hatred and intrigues of a single thousand.

XXXI.

Sovereigns ought to choose their personal confidants and social friends from among those who affect no political power, and who forbear to solicit favours for themselves or connexions; and, if a sovereign is not so fortunate as to meet with forbearing and disinterested persons worthy of his personal intercourse, he should keep at a distance those who have no pretensions in public character or useful service, and yet seek to avail

themselves of the ties of personal familiarity, to compromise his honour and his duty to the public, which demands that no exertion of his power should be made by him as a private man, but as the head of the state, from public motives, capable of justification and explanation to the whole world.

XXXII.

Subjects who yield ready obedience to the will and authority of a sovereign, withhold the same loyalty from any fellow-subject, and are jealous and impatient of the undue ascendency of any individual in the favour and confidence of the sovereign; nothing, therefore, is more dangerous to the security of thrones, than the sovereign's yielding to the influence or control of any personal favourite, and his conferring on such favourite the credit of those powers, graces, and acts, which ought to proceed alone from the unbiassed will of the sovereign.

XXXIII.

Princes should always be watchful that their weaknesses, foibles, or indulgencies, as men, do not bring discredit on their state and

authority, and sink them in public opinion; and for this purpose they ought studiously to save appearances, never violate the prejudices of virtue by public displays of vicious practices, and in that respect never set public opinion at defiance:—for virtue is stronger and more lasting than the throne, and no power is secure which has lost the respect and mental homage of those whose submission is its foundation.

XXXIV.

As sovereigns have the passions and propensities of other men, and means of indulging them, which are pampered and encouraged by sycophants and flatterers, they ought to consider that their elevated position in society counteracts their power of indulgence, by rendering them objects of conspicuous notice; and that animal gratifications, which sink even private men to the level of brutes, become, in princes, odious public vices, subjects of vulgar commentary, and too often objects of mischievous imitation; while, as sovereigns draw their revenues from the industry of the people, these contribute with reluctance in aid of notorious profligacy, and feel scanda-

lized in having a head who is a by-word of contempt, and a warning instead of an example.

XXXV.

A sovereign who respects his own glory, and who is desirous of wielding his power to advantage, should interest himself about living merit beyond the purlieus of his court; and it ought never to be the stigma of his age that any man of extraordinary genius in literature or the arts, or any exemplary character in acts of virtue and benevolence, lived in poverty, and died in despair and want; while nothing would be more easy than to ascertain, from time to time, the pretensions of contemporary merit, and partake its glory by effective patronage; for the fame even of kings is subordinate to that of great genius; and, in referring to the age of Homer or Plato, we forget all the proud dynasties who flourished in their time.

XXXVI.

A sovereign, to be beloved by his subjects, must identify himself with them, respect their predilections and customs, consult their

interests and happiness; be often visible to them; easy of access to the proper authorities; free in his carriage; courteous in his language; and affable in his general demeanour. The name and rank of king will confer fullness of effect on these qualities moderately displayed; and a king, as such, may always calculate on the acclamations of his people, with very slight restraints on his passions, and moderate concessions to their prejudices and predilections.

XXXVII.

A sovereign should be duly sensible of the extensive influence of his actions, and of the constant dependence of great numbers on his movements and conduct; he ought, therefore, to discipline himself into habits of regularity; to be subject himself to the despotism of time, paying respect to those who respect him, by keeping his engagements with unvarying punctuality. Habit deprives regularity of its irksomeness; and due economy of time will enable princes to be exact, without neglecting business, or killing horses, to overtake moments which had been frivolously wasted.

XXXVIII.

It is alone sufficient glory for a man to be sovereign of a nation, and he can add nothing to it by the transient splendour of his palaces, his attire, or his retinue; and every display of this factitious nature will be considered by mankind as an attempt to delude by the shadow, instead of conferring the substance, and as the gratification of a little mind and a vain-glorious spirit. New palaces should not be built, nor old ones enlarged, till all the cottages of industry are worthy the residence of human beings in a civilized country.

XXXIX.

Pride, the vice of upstarts, will seldom degrade an hereditary sovereign; and it must have been a fabulous libel on Philip of Macedon, to allege that he found it necessary to keep a monitor to exclaim, "Remember, Philip, thou art mortal!" Every inspiration of air, every animal want, every submission to the eternal powers of nature, every act of receiving sustenance, every twinge of pain, and every night's oblivion of sleep, must operate as constant correctives of any false and foolish assumptions of arrogance, conceit,

and pride, which may possess and intoxicate weak, childish, and imbecile princes.

XL.

The word of a prince should be his bond, and the pledge of his honour be held sacred; for nothing can render him so contemptible as evasions, equivocations, and falsehoods; or any conduct which leads his subjects to consider him otherwise than as a standard of integrity in all his transactions, and as the personification of truth and honour, of which the usages of society consider him at once the guardian and fountain.

XLI.

Ingratitude, and forgetfulness of services, are crimes often chargeable on courts and princes, owing to the rapid succession of events, and the importunities of new suitors, by which former circumstances are obliterated, and remote services forgotten. Princes should, however, be made aware that their creditors for services, or promises, have as tenacious memories as creditors in matters of account, though the courtesies of expectants may render them less openly clamorous; and, there-

fore, to protect themselves against charges of ingratitude, every sovereign, who desires to do his duty, ought to keep a faithful register of names, services, and promises, and consult this record as often as opportunities arise of filling up vacant appointments, or distributing the honours of the state. And this register, so intimately connected with the obligations of the crown, ought to be transmitted by every prince to his successor, and by him be respected as a solemn legacy of duties to be performed.

XLII.

To shield a sovereign against the inordinate expectations of persons who have rendered any service to himself, or the state, and to correct the delusions under which many expectants become victims, it is advisable to refer, whenever desired, all such claims to the arbitration of honourable men under the same forms as those by which awards are made in private disputes; but, to secure satisfactory decisions, lawyers ought never to be employed as arbitrators, or quibbling will supersede justice; nor mere dependents on government, or the claimant will not be sa-

tisfied, and the design of the reference be defeated.

XLIII.

Every sovereign, who proposes that a rational result should follow his arrangements, will beware that no commissions, societies, or corporations, are constituted, the members of which have internal power to fill up vacancies that arise in their own body; for the love of their own ascendency will determine them never to admit any associates but those who flatter them, and are their inferiors in intellect and character; and, by consequence, after two or three renewals, or generations, all such self-elected bodies become a nuisance to the community, a caricature of authority, and a disgrace to the sovereign who so improperly constituted their body.

XLIV.

As every sovereign would wish that himself and his hereditary successors should enjoy freedom of conscience in his communion with God, so he ought to permit no hierarchy to dictate to him in matters of religious faith,

because such faith has no necessary connexion with the business of the state; and the only obligation between a sovereign and his subjects, in their mutual relations as such, is their submission to the laws, which constitute the social compact: at the same time, it is the duty of the sovereign, for the moral government of the people, to sustain their religious institutions, and render religious instructors respectable and independent.

XLV.

As subjects are good and valuable in proportion as they are intelligent, and as reading is the key of knowledge, so every Sovereign should encourage institutions, which qualify all his subjects to acquire information: and, in like manner, he should anxiously promote establishments of learning and free discussion, through the press, on all subjects of public interest, or in any way connected with the public weal; for the press is a monitor which, if free and unshackled, he may always consult for truths which will in no other way be heard in palaces; while every sovereign should be aware that his ministers have the

address to corrupt certain journals, and, consequently, he will never find in these the knowledge which he ought to seek.

XLVI.

As the renown of nations depends on their excelling in all those arts which honour the genius of man, so every sovereign should identify himself with the fine arts, in all their branches,—with discoveries, which tend to advance human nature,—and with literature, and all productions of genius. He ought to confer personal distinctions on eminence, in each branch; and to seek it, and not wait for its obtrusion; for real genius is retired, and possesses pride *sui generis*. The importance to sovereigns of an alliance with the arts, and with literature and the sciences, is proved by the renown of Pericles, of Lorenzo di Medici, and of Louis XIV; while but a fiftieth of a king's income, time, and public distinctions, would be sufficient to render him an efficient and celebrated patron.

XLVII.

Custom blinds sovereigns, as well as other men; and reason often sleeps, if any esta-

blished usage, however bad, promotes the means and interests of statesmen. Hence it is, that benevolent and patriotic sovereigns do not consider the intense sufferings of individuals who, without suitable indemnity from the common public purse, are unjustly dragged into the public service, and then, to sustain an original wrong, subjected to coercive and severe codes of law. The king's service, in consequence, instead of being the most honourable, as it truly is, generally becomes irksome, odious, and ignominious; and the king's name so compromised, that a public-spirited sovereign ought to change his ministers, till he finds a set who are competent to do equal justice to all his subjects, mariners as well as landsmen, and thereby rendering his service as desirable and advantageous as honourable and glorious.

XLVIII.

If his duties are performed with effect, a sovereign will find that a kingdom of narrow limits will fully employ his time, and render it wholly unnecessary and undesirable to enlarge its boundaries by conquest; he will have enough to do to render nature available

in meeting the wants and luxuries of the people, to keep their passions in subjugation, to assuage the rancour of those parties which their imperfect reason, and the strife of self-interest, create; while he will sometimes be obliged to endeavour to render them happy, in spite of themselves.

XLIX.

Princes, who are discrete enough to seek counsel of others, should beware of men who give agreeable, rather than honest, opinions; who flatter when they ought to serve; who endeavour to find arguments in support of the predilections or prejudices of the sovereign, instead of frankly and boldly stating the whole truth: for such fawning and time-serving counsellors are more dangerous to the honour of a throne than its professed enemies. But, on the other hand, a sovereign should have discrimination enough to value honest counsel, magnanimity enough to forgive and reward it, and firmness enough to respect and follow it. The sovereign, who prefers flattering to honest counsel, and who is piqued by contradiction, will never hear the truth, and will be misled in every important measure of his reign.

L.

Sovereigns may always acquire perfect knowledge of human nature, its passions, intrigues, and pursuits, by attendance on dramatic performances; while they effectually and attractively inculcate the finest lessons of practical morality, and expose the artifices of vice and the struggles of virtue. The stage is morality in action, and the progress of a play is a picture of life. Theatres may be vicious by their abuses, but the fault is in the police, not in the drama. Companies of players are, therefore, proper appendages of every royal household; and, in many countries, theatres are wisely constructed under the roofs of palaces, as studies for sovereigns. Nothing, at the same time, tends more effectually to civilize and instruct subjects, and improve general manners, than dramatic performances; and they ought, in these views, to be munificently upheld, as part of the internal policy of every wise and liberal government.

LI.

Sovereigns should vigilantly protect their subjects against the egotism of the interest

and vanity of particular classes. They should keep down the pretensions and rapacity of pettifoggers in the law; the assumptions of daring empirics in medicine; and the still more disgraceful obtrusions on society of religious fanatics, whose blasphemous inspirations and revelations mislead the poetical, imaginative, and dreaming part of the brain. Regulation will, however, answer better than prosecution and penal laws. Education, learning, and character, should be the tests of these professions; but examinations should be conducted by umpires, named by authority, and by the party; and, in regard to vulgar fanaticism, whenever the alleged inward spiritual grace is not supported by outward visible signs,—such as the apostolic gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles,—they should, as a duty to the ignorant and credulous, be unceremoniously treated as lunatics, and sent to Bedlam, till they are cured; or as wolves in sheep's clothing, seeking whom they may devour, be disciplined into honesty in the house of correction.

LII.

As all the struggles of subjects are to live

by each other's labour, and it is the anxiety of each to perform the least, and make others work for him, so half the contests and troubles of subjects relate to questions about the representative of labour or property; hence arise systems and codes of law about debtors and creditors, and, under various pretexts, men are enabled to inflict injuries and heap wrongs upon one another; while legislators, misled by wily lawyers, who generally obtain the property of all litigating debtors and creditors, are unable or unwilling to adopt such measures as shall enable debtors and creditors to settle their own concerns without the intervention of law; it is, therefore, the imperative duty of every humane sovereign to exert his paramount influence on this subject, and to deprive lawyers of the power of devouring the people, and debtors and creditors of facilities for worrying one another.

LIII.

In their domestic policy, sovereigns should be aware that society advances by progressive steps, that family dependencies and systems of local industry, generated by time, constitute the aggregation of the people, all of

whom are thus connected by habits, predilections, and prejudices: hence the necessity of a settled policy, and the allowing of industry to mature its own fruits; for man in society is like the vegetation of a garden, which will yield only if undisturbed; and a sovereign, who meddles needlessly with his subjects' industry, and with the course of society, which matures and adjusts its own relations, is like a gardener, who often transplants his fruit-trees; for one will not prosper, and the other will not bear fruit.

LIV.

The infinitely varied pursuits, passions, interests, and characters, of subjects,—the mutual action and re-action of their industry,—and the sympathies and discordances of their ambition, opinions, and principles,—render the task of a good sovereign at once complicated and unceasing; while these circumstances call on him, and his ministers, to qualify all their decisions by unimpassioned discrimination, and to balance all their actions by a cautious and unrelaxed attention to the immutable principles of benevolence, mercy, truth, and justice.

GOLDEN RULES TO RENDER MEN HONEST, RESPECTABLE, AND HAPPY.

I.

Civilized Society is an artificial and factitious state, in which the ingenuity of man endeavours to supply the defects and imperfections of his natural state, by as perfect arrangements as possible and practicable; but, as these are created by a conflict of feelings and interests, in which the crafty rule the simple, and contest with one another, so society becomes a warfare of its members, to ameliorate which, is the object of laws and morals.

II.

The primary sources of social warfare are wealth, or the means of purchasing and enjoy-

ing other men's labour, and living in ease and luxury; power, or the means of influencing the law by the will of the individual; and social distinction, or the acquirement of titles of assumed honour and dignity. The attaining of these objects constitutes all the cares, anxieties, and miseries of men, and a very small share of the happiness of a very small number.

III.

Wealth, ambition, and learning, are phantoms of the mind, similar, as to actual contact, to the will-o'-the-wisp, or the rainbow of nature. The avaricious are never rich enough, the ambitious desire to rise higher and higher, and the cyclopædia is too bulky for the grasp of one life. Nevertheless, all are energies of healthy minds, if temperately exerted; and it is excess, like that in wine, which constitutes their vice and disease. As practical rules, a man ought to be content, who, from indigence, has secured comfortable independence for his old age, or who has doubled his patrimony; who has advanced two or three social steps over his former equals; and

who is wise enough to guard himself against superstition and imposture; able to discover and assert truth; and competent to fill up his hours of leisure, by reading the best authors with good intelligence and discrimination.

IV.

In society, character is the first, the second, and the ultimate quality. A man is never ruined who has not lost his character: while he who has lost his character, whatever be his position, is ruined, as to all moral and useful purposes. Envy and calumny will follow a man's success like his shadow; but they will be powerless, if he is true to himself, and relies on his native energies to beat or live them down. Virtues may be misrepresented, but they are virtues still: and in vain will an industrious man be called an idler; a sensible man, a fool; a prudent man, a spendthrift; a persevering man, a changeling; or an honest man, a knave. The qualities are inherent, and cannot be removed by words, except with a man's own consent. At the same time, all calumniators thrice detected, ought to be banished as criminals, unworthy of the bene-

fits of the society of which, however powerless, they endeavour to be the pest and bane.

V.

Education, artifice, or erroneous reasonings, engender and sustain a variety of stimulants o. action, which are incompatible with the temporary existence of man, and lead to strife, competition, and misery; as the love of wealth, for its own sake, beyond the means of enjoyment or security; as the love of fame among beings who forget all in sleep and in death; love of admiration among beings whose self-love absorbs every other consideration, and who seldom admire but to envy and to hate; and love of titles, of rank and distinction, which are rendered worthless by their indiscriminate acquisition; and love of show, for which they do but pillage the meanest of nature's productions, and merely display their personal vanity, in contempt of the labour which supplies the means. Wealth, fame, admiration, distinction, and indulgence, may be properly consequent on a virtuous life; but nothing should be sacrificed to their attainment.

VI.

Do no act which you feel any repugnance to have seen or known by others ; for the necessity of being secret implies some vice in the act, or some error in the reasoning, which leads to its self-justification.

VII.

Do nothing to any sentient or suffering being which you would feel to be cruel or unjust towards yourself, if your being or situations were changed: and mark that, although this rule is erroneously limited to the relations of man to man, and is therefore practised too often with a view to reciprocal advantage; yet it is genuine virtue only, when practised towards those from whom no reciprocal advantage can be derived, as when applied to the meanest animals, and to every helpless sentient object.

VIII.

To live and let live, applies to all social and physical relations: for the world is the common property of all the beings who have been evolved by the progress of creative power, and all are necessary parts of a great and harmo-

nious scheme, to which it is our duty to submit; while the happiness of all ought, as far as possible, to be rendered accordant with our own.

IX.

Hesitate, doubt, inquire, and if possible forbear, whenever your intention is dangerous or fatal to the welfare of another; for it is too late to correct an error of judgment after any mischief to another has been perpetrated.

X.

Give countenance to no slander relative to another in his absence; and, if obliged to hear slanders, discharge your own responsibility by the early communication of them to the slandered: for the hearer of any slander, who takes no measures to procure its contradiction, and who, from any sinister motive, declines to bring the slanderer and slandered face to face, is an accessory, and as culpable as the propagator; while the baseness and mischief of slander would be rooted from society, if hearers forbore to be quiescent accessories.

XI.

Beware of envy, and of a practice of detracting from the merit of those whom you have not the industry, the inclination, or the talent, to imitate; for it is your duty either to admire or emulate others, or to be content with the station in which your birth, talents, or industry, have placed you.

XII.

Be as useful as possible in the social sphere which you fill: for a man in society does not live for himself alone; and, as he derives benefits from others, so he ought to confer them as often as he has the opportunity and the power.

XIII.

Remember that all wealth and grandeur is sustained by the industry and privations of others: for money is but the representative of products, and products are the results of labour,—thus, income from interest of money is drawn from the industry or privations of the borrower; that from rent, from the industry or privations of the tenant; and that from manu-

facturing products, from the industry or privations of the workman.

XIV.

Reward and encourage virtue in every station, and discountenance vice and bad passions, however adventitiously exalted: for, unless the good draw a strong line between the worthy and the unworthy, and, by association and subscription, combine to sustain the adversity and the old age of virtue, unprincipled vice will eagerly trample it in the dust.

XV.

Avoid all those insanities of the human mind engendered by unwise authors and early errors,—such as the passion after posthumous fame, which can seldom be realized, and can never be felt,—as the love of wealth beyond the means of comfortable enjoyment,—as the love of renown among beings who forget you in sleep and in death,—as the love of military glory, excited to gratify the bad passions of weak princes and wicked ministers,—as the ambition after titles, which mean no more than the syllables of which they consist,—and, as the zeal of self-devotion in any cause of the hour,

the object and use of which will be forgotten in a year, and laughed at by the next generation.

XVI.

Seek wisdom in all things, that you may not be the dupe and slave of the craft and subtlety of others, that you may be enabled to play an independent part in society; and search deeply, that you may avoid conceit, by knowing how little is known even by the most learned.

XVII.

Wisely exert yourself to belong to the age in which you live. An age is thirty years; and most men above forty belong, from obstinacy, conceit, or inadvertency, to the previous, and not to the passing, age. Hence there is a constant war between their bigotted and obsolete opinions, and the increasing intelligence and renovated taste of the rising generation, while their authority and influence serve too often to obstruct truth; consequently, knowledge and improvement are generally retarded for at least one whole age, and often for many, by the prejudices of education, and the difficulty of unlearning.

XVIII.

Be not inconsistent in your expectations; and, having chosen your walk through life, pursue it with patience, industry, and contentment: thus, if superiority in knowledge is your object, do not envy the accumulations of your thrifty neighbour; if wealth is your object, do not wonder that your character for knowledge, justice, and liberality, stands not so high as that of others; and, if the reputation of virtue is your ambition, you must govern your passions, practise forbearance without repining, and consult the interest of others as much as your own.

XIX.

Let scintillations of pride be corrected, by considering that you are mortal; that, only a few years ago, you were not, and in a few years hence, will not be; and that an eternity preceded and will follow you, reducing your span of life to a point; that your possessions, however vast, are but a speck on a little globe, which is itself but a point in the universe; and that your bodily structure, your secretions, your mechanism, and your assimilations, are exactly the same as those of all

other men, and that, if not the same, you would be diseased, or a monster; and remember that wisdom, manners, and virtue, constitute the only difference among human creatures.

XX.

Men should at all times respect the superior sensibility, delicacy, virtue, and fascinating persons, of the female sex; whose weakness of frame ought to secure them sympathy and support; whose affections ought never to be sported with; whose tenderness repays man for his labour in their service; whose union in his interests affords him a trusty counsellor in moments of difficulty; whose constancy attends him in adversity; and whose solicitude supports him on the bed of sickness.

XXI.

An honest man, who seeks the reputation of wisdom, and who expects the sincere respect of his really sensible neighbours, will not lend himself to any mysterious faith, or superstitious practices on supernatural subjects, or on subjects unworthy of the free exercise of human reason and sound philosophy. If he is a dupe, he will be despised for his weakness

by those of whose opinion he would be proud; and, if an hypocrite from motives of convenience or interest, he will never be able to look into himself with self-satisfaction, while he will be despised by all men of discernment who penetrate his assumed character.

XXII.

Respect the means adopted by public social policy to subjugate the practices of the ignorant and unthinking, by their hopes, fears, and superstitions; for man, though a reasoning, is not a rational animal, and he is wrong a hundred times, for once that he is right: consequently, his moral practices in society, which are governed by his imperfect reason, his selfish craft, and his unruly passions, generally require some influence even beyond ordinary nature, to render his association bearable.

XXIII.

Promote education, free enquiry, and truth; for untaught man is the patient of the circumstances by which he is surrounded, and the mere creature of imitation,—a Mahometan Turk, if born in Turkey; a Siberian polytheist, if born in Siberia; or a protestant or popish

Christian, if born in Holland or Spain,—the faith, manners, and habits, of native country constituting individual character. To arrive at universal truth, to avoid the established errors of localities, and to become free from the continuous errors of previous ages, are, therefore, the primary duties of all men who aspire to the attributes of wisdom.

XXIV.

Practise toleration towards the opinions and habits of fellow-creatures, each of whom is the passive instrument of his education and associations. Pity and teach, if your practices are unquestionably better; but do not persecute or inflict punishment, either for ignorance, or for errors in the formation of character arising from the vices of society, the prejudices imbibed in youth, or the inattention of governments to public education.

XXV.

Beware of prosperity, for it seldom mends manners, while it creates more rancorous envy than solid friendship; consequently, more prudence is required to maintain it than to acquire it. Beware of adversity, for credit

once lost is seldom to be regained. A man rises, as in an inflated balloon, with an accelerated velocity; but, if it burst, he falls with greater and fatal acceleration. Make good your position as you rise, and be in no haste to make a higher step; remembering that, for one fortune that is gained by speculation, a thousand are lost; while he, who seeks to get rich within a year, generally becomes insolvent or a convict within six months. Society, like nature, will not bear sudden transitions; it works its stable wonders only by slow degrees.

XXVI.

The life of man in society is like the game of one, who sits down to play at cards. The hand dealt him is like the accidental position in which birth placed him; and that is, in truth, a new birth, which changes his position in society. His game may be backward or forward, as he is weak or strong. If, in his early course, he waste his substance, or his trumps, his rivals will turn the game against him: if he finesse, he must calculate the chances: if he is weak, he will be the patient of the strong, without losing reputation:—but his chief disgrace will be, the holding of good cards. and

playing them badly, making false speculations, and losing the game. The morals also of cards and of life are the same: you must play your part without cheating or lying, with good temper and good manners, and pay your stake with honour.

XXVII.

The greatest foe of human happiness is pride and self-conceit. Men forget that their whole race, as well as every race of organized creatures, subsists by appropriating, in respiration, the momenta of the atoms of the atmosphere common to all: they forget that their whole race subsists alike by assimilating the same atoms of matter by processes exactly alike; and with results exactly the same, except in cases of wealth and greater luxury, where the secretions are more foul, vitiated, and diseased: they forget the meanness of their procreation, their helpless infancy, their drivelling old age, the daily dispersion of their parts, and their ultimate decomposition and oblivion in the grave.

XXVIII.

All members of the human family should

remember, that the human race is, as to time and nature, but as one totality; for, since every man and woman had two parents, each parent two parents, and so on in geometrical progression, hence every individual, high or low, must necessarily be descended from every individual of the whole population as it existed but a few hundred years before, whether they were high or low, virtuous or abandoned; while every procreative individual of the existing race must be the actual progenitor of the entire race which may exist at the same distance of future time. What motives for charity, for forbearing from injuries, for benevolence, for universal love!

XXIX.

Be tolerant in your intercourse with other men. Look more to the virtues, affections, and understandings of men, than to their figure, deportment, or pursuits. The former are inherent sterling qualities, and the latter mere varieties of nature, education, and position. Men may be honest or intelligent, with persons and habits not to our taste; but to these we ought to accommodate ourselves. If, according to ordinary parlance, the heart is in the

right place, you must overlook external varieties, or live at war with three-fourths of your species.

XXX.

Unless you have the courage to undertake the hopeless task of correcting errors and prejudices, the confidence to set up your own opinions as standards of truth, and the fortitude to endure martyrdom in the reproaches of vulgar minds, prudence suggests that you must conform to the practices of the society in which you live, and yield, at least, an external respect even to its foibles. You must dress as other men do, take part in their amusements, conform to their customs, yield to their laws, and concede in trifles to them, if you expect them to concede to you in any thing; for self-love, the soul of man and animals, is as operative in one as in another.

XXXI.

Society is a fabric of usurpations; and, though many of them are necessary to its well being, yet they engender a perpetual social war of offence and defence. Property, the primary means of distinction, is the chief bone of con-

tention. To be able to purchase the labour of others, and to avoid the evils of servitude and poverty, are the two objects of general struggle. Yet the wheel of fortune is constantly turning, and the rich of to-day may be the poor of to-morrow. It displays, therefore, a want of sympathy and foresight, that the rich do not more diligently exert themselves, while they are so, to relieve poverty from its terrors, and render the comfort of the poor, and their own enjoyment, compatible with one another; for this compatibility is practically possible, if earnestly attempted, while it derogates from human reason that one thousand should be suffered to be positively wretched, in the hope that one may be enabled to assume an appearance of equivocal happiness.

XXXII.

The refined medullary system of man, and his mutual intercourse, create a reciprocity or sympathy in his feelings, which renders *sympathetic animal* his characteristic definition; the indulgence of these peculiar human sympathies being his highest gratification, and doing good, conferring happiness, and deserving gratitude, his most exalted pleasures;

while no sufferings are so poignant as those twinges of conscience, which cross the solitude, and even hilarity, of those who indulge malignant passions, who inflict misery on others, and who, being deservedly despised, hate, in their turn, all mankind.

XXXIII.

The bed of sickness, with its increased sensibility of nerves, is a delicate test of man's conscience, and of self approbation or reprobation. Requiring sympathy himself, he now sympathizes with others; and, unable to direct his thoughts to external things, they are forced upon himself. Great is then his solace, and efficacious his medicines, if he has no other reflections than such as are supplied by his justice, liberality, and benevolence; but accumulated will be his sufferings, and dangerous the result, if crimes and misdeeds force themselves at such a time on his mind; while in any delirium of fever he will rave on those subjects, and, without vision, will often perceive, by the mere excitement of his brain, the spectres of the injured making grimaces before him. All medical men are aware of this real Heaven and Hell in the minds of their patients.

XXXIV.

If you would preserve your friends, do not measure their duties by your own wants, nor expect sacrifices founded on your own estimate of your own merits. Bargain with precision and foresight, and expect no more than its exact performance: if your bargain is not precise, or is a bad one, blame your own want of prudence; and, if concession is made, accept it as a boon, and do not claim or expect it as a right, founded either on your wants, or your improvident contract.

XXXV.

In seeking satisfaction for wrongs, consider your own strength, and that of your opponent. Some men are so entrenched in power, by social position and by wealth, that you add to an original injury by seeking reparation. Patience is then the only remedy; and, as such public scoundrels will practise towards others as they have done to you, public indignation will, in due time, become your sure ally. In such cases, hypocrisy is almost a virtue, for the fall of a knave would be accelerated, if you could prevail on yourself to flatter his

injustice, so as to encourage him to display his true character to others, whom he deceives.

XXXVI.

Patience, that is, forbearance, during a longer or shorter time, is the best remedy for many evils of life. Turns of fortune are parried by yielding with patience to a storm of adversity. The rancour of enemies is baffled by patiently for a time forbearing to push your fortune, or by playing a backward game. The injuries inflicted by enemies will, if borne with patience, be satisfied by reverses in their fortunes, by disease, or by seeing them carried to the grave; while a conflict would have wasted your own mind, time, and substance; and, if you die before them, your desire of satisfaction will die with you. The Fabian system is as valuable in private life as in the campaigns of war.

XXXVII.

However men may desire to cover their animal feelings by fine words and phrases, and to disguise them by the arts and artifices of life, their basis is common animal nature, and the only apparent addition is in their am-

bition in its various walks to rival one another. Our senses, our pains, our diseases, our eating and drinking, our eliminations, our respiration and sleeping, our sexual propensities, our love of offspring, our youth, maturity, and decrepitude, are all common to entire animal nature; while the fact of reasoning by analogy from experience seems to be a cheap quality likewise possessed by all sentient creatures. Pride may take alarm at this truth, but pride and truth are often at variance. In this instance, however, truth is useful by inculcating a lesson of universal sympathy.

XXXVIII.

When law is expensive, uncertain, and dilatory, honest men should prefer the arbitration of mutual friends and neighbours, and surrender their passions to such controul. The best of all umpires is a jury, because they are indifferent, and obliged to be unanimous; but juries are embarrassed by the sophistry of lawyers, and their decisions often entangled by forms and precedents. Private arbitration would be more valuable, if unanimity were not obtained by absurd compromises arising out of personal deference; but it would be an improvement, if two mutual

friends merely nominated indifferent persons, and these nominees and their umpire made, in all cases, an unanimous decision, strictly governed by the equity of the case, conclusive of the dispute, and no way mingled with abstract points of law.

XXXIX.

Varied intellectual energy is the line of demarcation between animals in general; but knowledge constitutes the difference between man and man. We are slaves or masters, dupes or leaders, patients or agents, accordingly as we are ignorant or instructed. Knowledge, therefore, is power, in all social relations, and ignorance is weakness. The knowing are the craftsmen in politics and religion, or the rulers and the priests; while the ignorant are their convenient subjects and liberal devotees. The education of the people ought, therefore, to be the first hope of those, who desire to see the rational emancipation and moral improvement of the human race.

XL.

The irritability of the passions, and their want of due controul, constitute the sole dif-

ference between gregarious and solitary animals. Flocks and herds are passive and good-tempered, while lions, tigers, &c. are so irascible and ferocious, as to be unable to associate; and the one endure each other's society, while the latter would, on slight grounds, tear each other in pieces. Men live in society like sheep and passive animals; but their animosities prove that they are more of the tiger than the sheep; hence, therefore, the necessity of strong laws, and a vigilant police, to prevent them from fighting and destroying one another. Indeed, when the laws are not binding, as in the case of different nations and distinct tribes, mutual destruction appears to be their delight; and, when not restrained by law, they appear to be as ferocious as wild beasts, not only towards other animals, but towards their own species. A public road, or street, is a constant exemplification of the true character of men: the coachman drives over the horseman, the horseman rides over those on foot; and, among pedestrians, the robust push the weak into the kennel, while both classes defraud, without scruple, the sweepers of street-crossings of the hard-earned products of their humble tenures.

XLI.

A benevolent man should take delight in making peace between contending individuals. The most rancorous hostility is often to be appeased by the kind offices of an interposing friend; and an explanation made in a liberal spirit, and by one resolved to do good, frequently terminates a suit which the law would render ruinous. Occasional ill success should never deter a man from becoming a peacemaker; and ten sensible men of this description would effect more for social happiness than as many courts, and a hundred lawyers. A man who has appeased enmity and restored broken friendship in a dozen instances, is entitled, above all others, to a civic crown, or to the distinction of a star and riband.

XLII.

If you are rich, and want to enjoy the exalted luxury of relieving distress, go to the Bankrupt Court, to the Court for Insolvent Debtors, to the gaols, the workhouses, and the hospitals. If you are rich and childless, and want heirs, look to the same assemblages of misfortune; for all are not culpable who appear in the Bankrupt and Insolvent Lists; nor all

criminal who are found in gaols; nor all improvident who are inmates of workhouses and hospitals. On the contrary, in these situations, an alloy of vice is mixed with virtue enough to afford materials for as deep tragedies as ever poet fancied or stage exhibited; and visitors of relief would act the part of angels descending from Heaven among men, whose chief affliction is the neglect of unthinking affluence.

XLIII.

When you behold a splendid equipage, ask not what sickly being fills it, but who suffers; who contributes the sweat of rent, or the privations of interest; whose last-bed was seized; who is pining in gaol for its support! When you see a splendid banquet, consider the dying sufferings of the victims, the interesting feelings destroyed, the excess of pain over the possible pleasure, and the diseases lurking in the various dishes! When you view a noble mansion, filled with gaiety and luxury, reflect on the privations of cottages, on the half-crown a-day on which adjacent families must subsist, on all the means by which the establishment is sustained; and moderate your

pleasures accordingly! Remember always that, as there is a definite common stock, the excess of one is the necessary deficiency of another.

LXIV.

Marriage is a circumstance of life, which, in its actual course, involves the feelings and fortunes of human beings more than any other event of their lives. It is a connexion generally formed by inexperience, under the blindness and caprice of passion; and, though these conditions cannot be avoided, as forming the bases of the connexion, yet it is so important, that a man is never ruined who has an interesting, faithful, and virtuous, wife; while he is lost to comfort, fortune, and even to hope, who has united himself to a vicious and unprincipled one. The fate of woman is still more intimately blended with that of her husband; for, being in the eyes of the law and the world but second to him, she is the victim of his follies and vices at home, and of his ill success and degradation abroad. Rules are useless where passions founded on trifling associations and accidents govern; but much mischief often results from fathers expecting

young men to be in the social position of old ones, and from present fortune being preferred to virtues; for industry and talent, stimulated affection, and fostered by family interests, soon create competency and fortune; while a connexion founded on mere wealth, which is often speedily wasted by dissipation, habits of extravagance, and the chances of life, necessarily ends in disappointment, disgust, and misery.*

XLV.

It is the duty of all to resist oppressors as far as is prudent and practicable; but parti-

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* As the fruition of nature, and the purposes of animal evolution, would be abortive without that propagation for which all things seem to grow and mature, and then decay; so the human kind are subject to this general law of nature, while the conveniences and usages of society, and the complicated sentiments of the human brain, engender a multitude of sexual intrigues unknown to other animals. The natural excitements of both sexes are similar; but, as the personal responsibility of children attaches to the female, hence arise the reserve, the caution, the prudence, the studied and habitual coldness, the prudery, the coyness, the coquetry, and all those shades of peculiar conduct characteristic of females, and engendered by passion, mingled with taste, fear, hope, comparison, reflection, and calculation. These complications of feeling which qualify, in a general manner, the mutual advances of the sexes, are further diversified by personal preferences;

cularly when they are the public agents of law and power. And, to enable oppressed individuals to oppose and punish abuses of authority and oppressions under the name and forms of law, it is incumbent on others to assist, by association and subscription, not merely with reference to the particular case, but as a warning to oppressors in general. At the same time, it should never be forgotten, that bad precedents are generally created in regard to persons or things otherwise obnoxious, or made obnoxious; and maintained by sophistical attempts to combine the insinuated support of the obnoxious cause, with resistance to the precedent. Men, therefore,

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arising from agreeable or disagreeable associations of sense, from reciprocity of professed affection, or from the re-action produced by a comparison of different candidates; and the combinations become almost infinite in number, when to these are superadded all the modifications created by the varied ranks, fortunes, education, and manners, of society. The difficulty, therefore, to both sexes, of securing an associate for life, who shall unite personal qualities preferred by the imagination, and sterling qualities of head and heart, with suitable manners and rank, renders marriage a perfect Lottery, in which both the parties are either as blind in some particulars, or as incapable of making an actual free choice, as the blind goddess of fortune herself. In fact, the diversity and involvement of the excitements seem intended to baffle freedom of choice for the purpose of rendering marriage, or sexual union, universal, in spite of positive imperfections.

should be clear-headed enough to discriminate between the two questions; and decided and honest enough to resist any vigour beyond the bounds of public law, whatever may be the question at issue; or they will be likely to see the same precedent oppressively applied to all kinds of cases.

XLVI.

It ought never to be overlooked by a conscientious, moral, and religious, people, that wars, to be just, ought to be necessary; and, to be necessary, can be waged only in self-defence. And again, that, as without justice there can be no glory, so no glory can be acquired by victors in wars which are waged unjustly, unnecessarily, or offensively. Before glory is therefore ascribed to combatants, it is needful to examine seriously the previous questions, whether their cause was just, and whether the war in which they were engaged might not have been avoided.

XLVII.

We often wonder at seeing a good sort of man enjoying himself by his fire-side, amidst the assiduities of a wife, who watches every

turn of his countenance, and the endearments of his children, to whom he has the tenderest attachment, and yet know that he is in the daily practice of inflicting misery. Perhaps he is some sharp attorney, who inflames disputes, and exasperates the wealthy against the indigent; perhaps a judge, who urges the severity of the law, and always pleads for convictions; perhaps a magistrate, who sends men and women to gaol in sport; perhaps a butcher, who whistles a tune while he cuts throats; perhaps a sportsman, who kills for diversion, and often leaves his maimed victims to struggle for days under wounds inflicted by his wantonness; perhaps an anonymous critic, who considers his venom as seasoning, and his censures as useful passports to attention; or perhaps a minister, who makes war to please his master, or increase his patronage? Such men are the mere creatures of habit, usage, and precedent. Probably they never duly and truly thought of their habitual practices, and never were at such a focal distance from them as to be enabled to see them and their conduct distinctly.

XLVIII.

Happiness is the result of a healthy and

well-working system of organization, combined with accordant actions and re-actions from nature and society, to the perceptions and reminiscences of the brain. Happiness, in a word, is the harmony of the body and mind with nature and society. The definition leads to its means. Healthy action can result only from temperance in eating and drinking, regularity of habits, cleanliness of person, exercise to promote the circulations, and excitements to exercise. Accordance with nature will result of course, and may be improved by its study; while accordance with society will arise from being just, sympathizing, benevolent, unostentatious, and useful. Self-satisfaction will result from such a state of personal and external harmony, and all the perceptions of happiness be enjoyed, of which humanity is susceptible.

XLIX.

Misery is the result of an unhealthy and ill-working system of organization, or of discordant actions and re-actions between nature and society, and the individual. It is the body and mind in a state of discord with nature and society. When nature is not in fault, the

bodily discordances are occasioned by intemperance, irregularity, excesses beyond the powers of nature, ignorance of the animal economy, personal filthiness, and slothful habits. Those of the mind correspond and display themselves in malignant temper, in inordinate selfishness, in want of time to exert the charities of life towards others; and the consequences are, self-reprobation, discontentedness, hating and being hated, and an utter want of accordance with society at large.

L.

It is difficult to be happy, and to say to yourself that you are so, because all the virtues and exalted wisdom are necessary to the fruition of happiness, and a single vice or error alloys the whole. False estimates, and incongruous expectations, mar the happiness of many on whom nature and society have conferred their apparent means of full enjoyment. Acute feelings, and warmth of temper, deprive others of that urbanity of manners, and equanimity of temper, which reconcile man to man. The active assaults of knavery create a

general mistrust of all, and an anti-social reserve. The mischievous error of the world, in assigning virtue to success, and crime to misfortune, improperly substitutes a heart-rending solicitude about the world's opinion, in place of the satisfaction of intending well, and having done your best, and with integrity. The envy of the unworthy, who think you more happy than they know themselves to be, begets their slanders, back-bitings, and malignant whispers; while, to surmount these, calls for patience and vigour of understanding not possessed by all. In a word, we are not perfect either in body or mind; and can, therefore, approximate to happiness only in the degree in which we are so.

LI.

Wretched is the man who has no employment but to watch his own digestions; and who, on waking in the morning, has no useful occupation of the day presented to his mind. To such a one respiration is a toil, and existence a continued disease. Self-oblivion is his only resource, indulgence in alcohol in various disguises his remedy, and death or superstition his only comfort and hope. For what

was he born, and why does he live, are questions which he constantly asks himself; and his greatest enigmas are the smiling faces of habitual industry, stimulated by the wants of the day, or fears for the future. If he is excited to exertion, it is commonly to indulge some vicious propensity, or display his scorn of those pursuits which render others happier than himself. If he seek to relieve his inanity in books, his literature ascends no higher than the Romances, the newspapers, or the scandal, of the day; and all the nobler pursuits of mind, as well as body, are utterly lost in regard to him. His passage through life is like that of a bird through the air, and his final cause appears merely to be that of sustaining the worms in his costly tomb.

LII.

The fundamental rules by which to enjoy as much as human nature is capable of enjoying, are to estimate truly your position in the natural world; to sympathise with your fellowmen in the same society, and with human nature in all societies; to be content in any station which supplies your natural wants; to divest your mind of the phantoms of great wealth, of fame, distinction, and show, for their

own sake; and, above all, to be moderate, and consistent in your expectations.

LIII.

The duties of legislation indicate the duties of individual creditors. The first questions in regard to an embarrassed man ought to be, —Is he solvent? is he honest? is he prudent? And, if these questions admit of an affirmative answer, it is the duty of his friends, neighbours, and creditors, to concert effectual means for his relief; and all men ought to beware of implacable creditors, who aggravate, instead of assisting, the temporary embarrassments of solvent, honest, and prudent, debtors. Such creditors ought to be considered as wolves in a sheep-fold, and, abandoned by all honest men, to deal only with those of their own kind.

LIV.

Anger, or excessive emotion of mind, on suffering a real or supposed injury, arises from nervous sensibility, often increased by morbid secretions; but, from its mischievous effects on happiness and fortune, requires control and suppression. As every action in one body produces re-action in another, so anger begets anger, and often rancorous hostility, stimulated by false pride, or allowed to display itself by indifferent friends. Yet, as undue

excitement produces exhaustion, so the angry man soon relaxes, repents, and forgives, and his lasting resentment is less to be feared than that of one whose nerves are incapable of undue excitement. Anger appertains to men in proportion to their quickness of apprehension, but the same quickness ought to be anxiously exerted for its control. The wisest man is he who is so constituted as to be susceptible of great emotions, and who yet so controls his animal feelings, as to prevent their being discovered.

LV.

It is the duty of parents to educate their children according to their station, and to instruct them in their youth in the means of living with credit. If by folly or obstinacy they do not, or will not, succeed, duty to other children, and to approaching old age, must be considered, and every thing should not be sacrificed to one. Natural affection must, in this respect, yield to prudence, and children be forced to rely on their own exertions; but, if industrious and yet unfortunate, relief ought, in that case, to proceed from the family stock, and the unmerited misfortune of one be considered as that of the whole.

LVI.

The decline of life, and the retrospections of

old age, furnish unequivocal tests of worthiness and unworthiness. Happy is the man, who, after a well-spent life, can contemplate the rapid approach of his last year with the consciousness that, if he were born again, he could not, under all the circumstances of his worldly position, have done better, and who has inflicted no injuries for which it is too late to atone. Wretched, on the contrary, is he, who is obliged to look back on a youth of idleness and profligacy, on a manhood of selfishness and sensuality, and on a career of hypocrisy, of insensibility, of concealed crime, and of injustice above the reach of law. Visit both during the decay of their systems, observe their feelings and tempers, view the followers at their funerals, count the tears on their graves; and, after such a comparison, in good time make your own choice.

LVII.

Constant change is the feature of society. The world is like a magic lanthorn, or the shifting scenes in a pantomime. TEN YEARS convert the population of schools into men and women, the young into fathers and matrons, make and mar fortunes, and bury the last generation but one. TWENTY YEARS convert infants into lovers, and fathers and

mothers, render youth the operative generation, decide men's fortunes and distinctions, convert active men into crawling drivellers, and bury all the preceding generation. THIRTY YEARS raise an active generation from nonentity, change fascinating beauties into merely bearable old women, convert lovers into grandfathers and grandmothers, and bury the active generation, or reduce them to decrepitude and imbecility. FORTY YEARS, alas! change the face of all society; infants are growing old, the bloom of youth and beauty has passed away, two active generations have been swept from the stage of life, names so cherished are forgotten, and unsuspected candidates for fame have started from the exhaustless womb of nature. FIFTY YEARS! why should any desire to retain their affections from maturity for fifty years? It is to behold a world which they do not know, and to which they are unknown; it is to live to weep for the generations passed away, for lovers, for parents, for children, for friends, in the grave; it is to see every thing turned upside down by the fickle hand of fortune, and the absolute despotism of time; it is, in a word, to behold the vanity of human life in all its varieties of display!

LVIII.

Revenge is a troublesome as well as a dangerous and insatiable passion. Forgiveness of injuries is far more easy, as well as more prudent, and satisfactory. Attempts at revenge often recoil, and add to the original injury; while they at least employ much valuable time. If we forbear for a season, our resentment relapses into indifference; while time and other employments either lead to an oblivion of the wrong, or render its recollection of no importance.

LIX.

Remember that wealth is a vulgar acquirement, often of chance, sometimes of knavery, and in other cases, of servile, low, and thrifty habits, and, therefore, in neither case a proper subject for pride;—that rank or title, acquired by birth, is an accident which may appertain to the most wretched specimens of human nature, and, therefore, is no proper subject for pride;—and that eminence in virtue, wisdom, honour, and probity, will never cherish a feeling incompatible with those qualities; consequently, that pride can be cherished and practised only by those who have no just pretensions to superiority.

LX.

Genuine friendship, in its best sense, is as rare in society as unadulterated truth in books. There are thousands of men with generous souls, but there are tens of thousands of knaves and ingrates to take advantage of them, while honour and falsehood use the same language. True friendship demands a perfection of character in two persons, which seldom meets. If one party expects servility and flattery, compliance implies other bad qualities; if indemnity from loss is expected, disappointments may follow; or, if calculations of convenience or inconvenience are made, the compact ceases in its true sense. Hollow, convenient, and reciprocal friendships begin and end with every month: but a friend in adversity and prosperity, with joint-stock fortunes, and a fraternity of hopes, fears, and feelings, is a rare though enviable example of human felicity.

LXI.

A generous man, who is also a man of sense and discrimination, will be as forward in the praise of genius and excellence with his pen as in relieving them when necessary with his spare means. What is every body's

business is no body's; and many a man of talent has languished in uncertainty in regard to the world's estimation of his merit, because what was the duty of all, none had sufficient energy of virtue to perform. Envy and malice are boisterous enough, while praise is slow, and men are fearful of being thought obtrusive and officious when their feelings prompt an act of liberality. Nor is power or wealth requisite; but simple integrity of soul, with learning enough to express it. In this sense the poorest men may become efficient patrons. Charles Fox valued, above all the letters he received while in office, the honest encomiums contained in a letter from a poor weaver at Glasgow, expressed with the unsophisticated eloquence of the heart.

LXII.

Of all social vices, that of backbiting and scandalizing, or bearing false witness against your neighbour, is the most odious and mischievous. Many elderly women and gossiping men are, in this respect, pestilences and public nuisances. They ought, by common consent, for the first convicted offence, to be banished from company; for the second, to be posted in public places, and heavily fined

for the compensation of the parties; for the third, to stand in a white sheet during divine service; for the fourth, to be set in the pillory and pelted with rotten eggs; and for the fifth, to be banished as felons, with distribution of their property among all whom they have previously traduced. The crime of theft involves less moral turpitude than that of bearing false witness against your neighbour; yet by the negligence of the legislature there are no penal statutes to enforce this commandment. To judge of its enormity, we have only to reside in a country town, where it will soon be found that a dozen talebearers keep the population in a constant ferment; while those who listen, and do not inform against them, are as culpable as though they saw a thief picking a pocket, or a midnight burglary, and gave no warning. Associations for the protection of character against malignant gossiping, ought to be formed as well as associations for the protection of property against larcenies.

LXIII.

No maxim is more important than that we should never defer till to-morrow that which we ought to perform to-day. Rapidity of

decision, promptness in performance, skill in execution, and perseverance to completion, constitute the perfection of active life, and are each of them essential to success. They are demanded in every station from the king upon the throne down to the lowest employments, and are the cardinal virtues of all business. Thus decision is abortive without promptness, this inefficient without skill, and both useless without perseverance to the full accomplishment of the end. There are few men in the decline of life who, in their intercourse with society, do not recollect hundreds of plans rendered abortive for want of promptness in execution, or which, if begun, afterwards failed for want of perseverance to finish. Though so many literary works appear, yet they are not a thousandth part of those which are begun but never finished; while nine-tenths of those which appear either display want of skill, or of sufficient perseverance to attain perfection.

LXIV.

Indulge the luxury of sympathising with misfortune. The slightest attention in a season of calamity produces the deepest sense of gratitude of which men are susceptible. Acts of hospitality, convenient loans, exer-

tions of influence, unsolicited offers of practicable service, even words of condolence, when better succour cannot be given, are gratifying to both parties. And, as at such times, a man cannot have too many friends, and too many old ones drop off, volunteers need not restrain their liberal feelings by any sense of delicacy, or fear of being thought officious. The error will, at any rate, be on the right side, and honour him who offers, whether his service be useful or not.

LXV.

Nature suggests to children the duty of succouring their aged parents, and of consulting their happiness and comfort by every means in their power. One means is, to take care to prosper in life, and to deserve the good name of the world: another, to be kind, attentive, tractable, and dutiful: and a third, to assist their wants, and leave them nothing to repine from the ingratitude of those for whom they passed their best days in labour and anxiety, and from whom neglect would be felt with bitterness of anguish proportioned to the force of their natural claims and affection. All the torments of the theological hell will be felt by children who unhappily are aware that they neglected their parents, or

contributed by any means to bring their grey hairs with sorrow to the grave.

LXVI.

Though education and national manners form men, and so much so, that children of the same parents, educated in the four quarters of the world, would scarcely seem of the same species, or even in different grades in the same country, would appear to be of different families; yet similar education and habits will not produce similarity of powers and character. These are governed by the structure of the brain, and by different energies arising from quantity or quality, which develope phenomena of their own kind. Hence the convenient aptitude of men for different pursuits, and the subdivision of society into classes of various fitness and suitable employment.

LXVII.

A consequence results from the previous principle worthy of special attention. No inconvenience results in families where there is a power of choosing employments, but much, where circumstances do not admit of choice, and such is the general condition of poverty: for the same varieties exist among the children of poor parents as among rich ones.

Perhaps the ancients effected, in the four temperaments, and their admixture, quite as much accuracy as the modern phrenologists; and adopting their classification, it would seem, that though, in a poor family, the earthy and the phlegmatic may with content follow their father's calling, yet the spirits of the fiery and the aerial disqualify them; and these constitute, therefore, the floating adventurers of society, and too often the violators of the laws from a discordance between their social position and their natural feelings.

LXVIII.

Endeavour to deserve the approbation of the world, whether you obtain it or not. If you obtain it, use it modestly, or it will soon be lost; and if you fail, or feel the shafts of envy flying at you, persevere in well-doing, as the only means of ultimate success. There will be infinitely more satisfaction in proving your enemies to be malignant liars, than in confirming their slanders by weakness of despair. If they mar your prospects, and interfere with your connexions, play a backward game, but persevere—redouble your industry—put nothing to hazard—and, like the tortoise in the fable, you will disconcert all your enemies by a tranquil victory.

GOLDEN RULES FOR MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH LEGISLATURE.

I.

The duties of a legislator demand wisdom, experience, knowledge of human nature, knowledge of the habits and wants of the people, and knowledge of the pre-existing laws in their relative connexions and practical operations. The effectual performance of the duties implies habits of investigation and business; courage and independence to bring forward new laws, or improvements of old ones; and intelligence and eloquence to maintain their propriety and necessity, or to support any opinions relative to subjects of discussion in the House, or its committees.

II.

The Houses of Parliament are arenas on which talent and ambition combat for distinction, power, and rank; consequently, all the passions of human nature are displayed in them. Presumption is repressed,—loquacity is not listened to,—talents excite detraction,—activity arouses jealousy,—premature success envy,—low birth the contempt of the aristocracy,—common-sense talents undisciplined by regular education, the sneers of the learned professions and the graduates of Universities. —The old will not be led by the young,—and truth itself, on all subjects, belongs only to a party on one subject. In short, to attain the object of ascendancy,—patience, forbearance, perseverance, courage, self-denial, concession, and government of temper, must be combined with talents natural and acquired, and with an all-conquering industry both in attendance and study. One only in two or three hundred are so moulded as to succeed.

III.

In the commonwealth, the powers of the executive, the aristocracy, and the people, should be independent and in equipoise; the church,

and the law, should serve, and not govern; agriculture should be promoted as the staple, manufactures as the convenience, commerce as the source of wealth and luxury, and the liberty of the press as the fountain of knowledge and truth; while, in all, labour should find its due reward, disease sympathetic support, and old age, as the representative of that past generation from which the advantages of contemporary generations are derived, should be honourably and comfortably sustained. To balance these several portions of society, constitutes the moral, social, and political, duties of every able legislator.

IV.

Although members of parliament are upon an equality with reference to the public, and to the power of their individual votes, yet parliament itself is a community in which the influence of a member is governed by the same considerations and prejudices as decide the influence of a man in general society. Good manners, winning address, sincerity of character, severity of application, and reputation for wisdom and discretion, are, therefore, essential to the success of every member

within the walls of parliament. Nor is the Lower House exempt from vulgar prejudices in favour of high birth: and Who was, and who is, the man? as well as, What is the man in talent and character? are questions which accelerate or thwart the ambition of a new member, till his standard is admitted, his level settled, and he becomes amalgamated with some party, and integrated with the House.

V.

No member of parliament ought ever to feel discouraged from attempts to do good by apparent difficulties of success. If he scatter good seed, it will in due time produce good fruit. Nothing that passes in parliament is buried under a bushel. The agitation of a sound question, however abortive at the time, sinks deeply into men's minds, and, by degrees, they become converts. Arguments do not at once produce equal conviction; and circumstances must combine, with reiterated attention, to atchieve a victory over self-love and pre-conceived opinions. Wilberforce laboured twenty years before he procured an Act to abolish the atrocious Slave Trade.

VI.

Speakers in the legislature are not wanted so much as honest men who are qualified by energy of character and habits of enquiry, to think for themselves. Not more than one in twenty, in each assembly, should aspire to the reputation of being an orator. The more salutary qualifications are—thinking soundly and independently, and voting honestly, and according to intellectual conviction and logical demonstration. Eloquent leaders of debates on both sides may, to a certain degree, illustrate a subject; but every man of character will, by personal study and sedulous enquiry, become qualified to think for himself, and to decide independently on his own views and examinations. To follow leaders like horses in a team, is to be ignominious in conduct, and contemptible in character.

VII.

Parliamentary friendships are heartless and hollow. Every man is either seeking to serve the interest of himself or his friends, or seeking to magnify himself in the eyes of his constituents and the public. If he is courteous to another man, it is with a view to promote his

own interest. Every member, therefore, should stand on his own legs as a man by himself, and act for himself as an independent noun-substantive.

VIII.

Blackstone, Montesquieu, Puffendorf, Grotius, and Vattel, ought to be read by every man who aspires to a vote in the legislature; and he who has not read some of these authors, ought, if he is a man of sense and honour, to refrain from giving any opinion on new laws.

IX.

The authorities on subjects of finance, are, Adam Smith, Denham Stewart, the speeches of Pitt and Fox, and the writings of Lord Sheffield, Sir John Sinclair, David Ricardo, and Messrs. Marshall and Malthus; and no honest man, who has not studied some of these authorities, ought to venture to speak in regard to fiscal assessments, and financial regulations.

X.

The authorities on constitutional questions are, Locke, Bolingbroke, Blackstone, Delolme,

Miller, Junius, Cartwright, the speeches of Skippen, Chatham, Camden, Fox, Erskine, Burke, and Sheridan; and no man, who has not rendered himself familiar with several of these authorities, can conscientiously presume to vote on such questions.

XI.

The study of Modern History, as it is best found in the Annual Registers; of Geography, as it is detailed in travels into various countries, and by actual travels through Europe as a feature of education; and of Biography, in authentic memoirs of distinguished men; are the best criteria on which conscientious members of parliament can vote on subjects of foreign policy.

XII.

The Indexes to the Statutes, and the classifications of the laws by various authors, will always enable a member, within an hour, to discover the bearings, tendency, and propriety, of any proposed law, if it relate to objects to which legislation has already been directed: and, if the object is new, then a scrupulous member will show the Bill to different practi-

cal men likely to be affected by it, and be directed by the sum of their information; for, although such men are examined before committees, yet no conscientious man will ever vote on any second-rate authority; and it too often happens that the evidence before committees consists of an interested cabal.

XIII.

The test of good legislation is the cheapness, facility, and certainty, of law and justice; and legislators disgrace their functions, who permit redress of wrongs to be expensive, who tolerate obstructions, and who do not persevere in adopted remedies till they have rendered legal decisions as certain as truth. The lawyers' toast, "The glorious uncertainty of the law," is a libel on the legislature for the time being, and an insolent taunt of the community, which, by such uncertainty, is placed in a worse situation than in a savage state; because the injustice of wealth, or strength, is aggravated by plausible forms, and assisted by the force of law, which is that of the community concentrated in the executive.

XIV.

If a member desire to distinguish himself as

a useful legislator, independently of the lawyers, who are deeply interested in what they call the glorious uncertainty of the law, he will, from time to time, read the Term Reports; and, in the statements and arguments of the judges, he will discover those points in which justice is obstructed, and the subject suffers wrong; and be able to propose special statutes for the correction of defects in the administration of the law; in which he would be supported by all members who unite common sense with honourable feeling.

XV.

Ignominious is the position of any legislature in which lawyers have a preponderating influence, for they will never permit any law to pass, which tends to emancipate the people from their toils; or which, in any degree, abridges their possible profits and ascendancy. Lawyers are the mere servants of jurisprudence; and every servant ought to have a master, or he becomes master himself, and worse than master, because he serves himself under the name of his master, without regard to a master's honourable responsibility. In an independent legislature, lawyers should merely

be employed as assistants, or advisers in cases of difficulty; for every man of sense, who is forty years of age, is perfectly competent to adapt laws to the society in which he lives, and subtleties and complications are above all things to be avoided. That which every man cannot at once understand is not fit for law; and any law, which every one cannot at once understand in its connexion with the subject, must be the act of a legislature of knaves or fools.

XVI.

The duration of empires depends much on its law-makers, but nature has its limits, and philosophical laws should endeavour to extend them. Men in a country are like mites in a cheese, or ants in their nest; and, like them, they eat up and exhaust their own sustenance in the scite of their residence. A country is not simple food, like a cheese; but the elements of, and by which it forms, food, are not illimitable. They pass in a circle, but this circuit is deranged by large cities, which concentrate more of the elements of production than they return; and thereby, in time, convert fertile districts into arid deserts. This has

been the fate of Asia, and of all ancient countries; and, without due precautions, must be also the fate of every country containing cities, which consume larger portions of the elements of vegetation than they return to the soil in the form of manure.

XVII.

The decay of empires arises either from natural causes, as the exhaustion of the soil, the choking up of harbours and rivers by the accumulation or shifting of sand-banks, the diversion of commerce, into newly-discovered channels, or more commonly by the silent encroachments of one class of the people on another, by which that healthy balance of their pursuits is disturbed, on which depends the general prosperity. A legislature and government should be intelligent enough to understand this balance, independent enough to maintain it, and, if disturbed, powerful enough to restore it; but, if neither intelligent, independent, nor powerful, other nations will soon transcend their country, and its energetic members be transferred to them.

XVIII.

As members of the House of Commons are

special guardians of the public purse, and assessors of taxes, it is in the first capacity their bounden duty, one and all, to watch over the public expenditure, to refuse support to corrupt jobs of ministers and their adherents, and to restrain prodigality in the disbursements for the various branches of public service: and, in the second capacity, they are called upon by every sense of duty to take care that the taxes are not unequal, partial, and oppressive; that the boards for collecting them are not armed with such arbitrary powers as render the collection ruinous and tyrannical, without discretion to refer questions in dispute; and that, above all things, the independence of juries in the Exchequer, before whom fiscal grievances and oppressions are, in the last resort, to be tried, should be indifferently and independently drawn from the whole body of the jurors of the district.

XIX.

A wise legislator will constantly be vigilant in regard to the changes required in laws by variations in the habits and pursuits of the people. These changes have been so great within two centuries, and so rapid within the me-

mory of man, that half the statutes previous to 1800 might with advantage be repealed, and others beneficially substituted. In like manner, the progress of free enquiry has destroyed the erroneous principles on which many statutes are founded, and these ought to be expunged as improved principles are established; while, as the body of the common laws were for the most part founded on the vulgar errors of the barbarous times when they were recognized, they call for extensive qualification by statutes, in accordance with the enlightened spirit and improved manners of the passing age.

XX.

Legislators in Britain should not merely guard the forms of trial by jury from abuse, but should not permit the property, interest, or liberties, of the people, to be subject to any other power. The summary authority conferred by modern statutes on single magistrates, and on majorities of benches of magistrates, and the powers tolerated in the Courts of Chancery, are parliamentary treasons against the rights and liberties of the English people; and intolerable grievances, which, by

design or inadvertency, are constantly augmenting. Indeed, the general practice of Chancery law is become almost a public nuisance, and an outrage on reason and justice.

XXI.

As it is an undeniable truism, that the enlightened of this age are far wiser than the past generations; and, as it is the necessary tendency of the printing press to render every generation wiser, so the plea of precedent and antiquity, often used to cover corrupt and sinister designs, ought to be treated by every member of parliament as an impeachment of his independence and understanding: for one age is as competent at least to decide on any question as any previous age; and one independent and anxious legislature is as competent to set a precedent, or establish a doctrine, as any other which may not only have been not so wise, but far less independent: and the collective wisdom of men, of different ages of life, is not liable to the same objection as to the individual wisdom of age and experience, contrasted with youth and inexperience. The question, therefore, ought never to be, whether

a parliament did or did not perform a certain act in such a remote period; but whether it is proper, expedient, and fitting, that the same act should be re-performed at the moment of debate.

XXII.

In fiscal arrangements, indirect ought to be preferred to direct, taxation; and assessments made on real, rather than on personal, property. Nothing tends so much to oppress a people, and obstruct industry, as direct taxes, with all their dirty ensnaring penalties, and insulting and vexatious modes of collection. They place the community at war with the government, lead to non-consumption and evasion, and create uncertainty and annoyance in all branches of trade connected with them. Above all, a patriotic senator should beware, that the means of assessing and collecting any tax is not made, as is often the case, a covert means of abridging the civil liberties of the people.

XXIII.

Taxes on law-proceedings ought never to be tolerated, because they obstruct justice,

put a price upon it, and affect the security of property; and they also stimulate rich men to annoy poor ones, and thereby increase contention and the number of law-suits; for it is found that, in the United States, where a cause can be carried to execution for as many shillings as for pounds in Britain, there are few law-suits in comparison.

XXIV.

To render legislation perfect, the laws should be watched in their operation; and, for this purpose, the judges of all the courts at Westminster should be obliged to report on their defects to both Houses of Parliament, within the first ten days of every sessions, and benches of magistrates for every county should make such reports alternately every third year; and, as a check on the prejudices of authority, other reports should be made by seven of the twelve senior practising counsel of each of the courts at Westminster. These reports would be fundamental bases on which to legislate from sessions to sessions; and, if necessary, parliament might superadd a remembrancer to each court at Westminster,

who might report, as its independent agent, on the operation and defects of the laws.

XXV.

In making penal enactments, as little as is possible should be left to the humour, prejudices, and temporary motives, of judges, tribunals, and magistrates; for, to confer on any man or men a wide range of discretion in affixing punishments, under all the feelings in which they may be called upon to decide, is to confer on them the powers of absolute despots, and to place the subjects of the realm under a worse tyranny than the subjects of Morocco, because the tyrants are more numerous. Every genus of crime should be classed into several species; which species the jury should determine, and the law should prescribe the maximum and minimum of punishment in each species.

XXVI.

Members of the legislature should never forget, that they are the guardians of the equal rights of the whole population, whether it subsist on land, or in the equally useful employments of the sea. They are bound,

therefore, not to sanction any usage of semi-barbarous ages, by which ministers, rather than apply to parliament for sufficient money to procure men by suitable bounties and pay, prefer seizing them by bludgeon law, and sacrificing one class without proper indemnity from the rest of the community: and, as legislative means of correcting the evil, they should take care that the annual mutiny-bills contain no clauses but such as regulate service presumed to be free, and under mutual contract. The onus of inventing just and efficient means of manning the navy lies not less on the members of the legislature than on the executive government.

XXVII.

The successful industry and commerce of a country depend on the wise and judicious balance of two opposing interests, that of debtors and creditors. If a lax state of the laws enables debtors to cheat creditors with impunity, credit, the basis of trade, commerce, and mutual intercourse, will be impaired; while, if the law leave unfortunate debtors to the mercy of disappointed and enraged creditors, every variety of severity and cruelty will be practised

in its name. A previous question should always be first determined in regard to the true character of an insolvent, and legislation should then discriminate suitable treatment, which should be marked by liberality towards industry in misfortune, and by severe inquisition towards profligacy at the end of its career.

XXVIII.

A high majority of creditors ought always to be empowered to arrange with debtors, and their decision should govern the adverse feelings of a small or impracticable minority. This simple principle would serve as the basis of a code in regard to debtors and creditors; but there is danger lest fraudulent claims should constitute the majority, and hence a necessity for laws of great severity against such frauds: for the whole community ought not to suffer under a coercive system because a few might abuse a liberal system; and therefore, to secure the advantages of a liberal system, severe punishments ought to be inflicted on those who thwart the public interest on points of such vital importance. At present embarrassment becomes ultimate insolvency,

because the law permits no middle course, and to be embarrassed and to be insolvent involves equal ruin by the operations of law.

XXIX.

Legislators should never forget that they are making laws for beings as wise and cunning as themselves; and, therefore, that laws which violate the common sense of mankind, which lead to practical injustice, or which are irksome, inquisitorial, or oppressive in their operation, will be rendered nugatory by the resentment of society, soon become obsolete, and stand in the Statute Books merely as records of the folly or turpitude of those who invented and enacted them.

XXX.

In passing laws, members ought to feel with due force the importance of every word and principle to extensive interests, and to the happiness of individuals. No member should vote on a Bill which he has not taken the pains to read with care, and every public-spirited member will anxiously read every Bill, that he may either oppose, correct, or support it. It is ignominious to vote under

the authority or example of another; and basely corrupt, and a gross compromise of public duty, to vote for one measure with a view to obtain support on another.

XXXI.

As we have in England four hundred and twenty hereditary legislators, and six hundred and fifty elective ones, and few are qualified to propound, justify, and establish new laws, the country does not require, as a test of ability, that every member of the legislature should propound one new law, or modification of an old law, every session, or we might have a thousand changes every year in our judicial code. If only one in ten of the Commons, and one in fifty of the Lords, are competent to originate measures of legislation, there remain 585 voters in one house, and 410 non-legislators in the other, of various degrees of judgment and information; and these serve to neutralize, attemper, qualify, and modify, those propositions which passion, prejudice, vanity, or interest, might, without such alloy, pass into laws. Every member of the British legislature is therefore sufficiently useful in constituting an ingredient in the neutral compound of dispassionate wisdom, without being an originator of laws.

XXXII.

The fundamental questions which, under the house of Guelph, divide the legislature, relate to popular rights and the prerogatives of the crown, and to reforms, and ministerial influence. In a mixed government, these questions must always exist, and the principles apply themselves to such an infinite variety of decisions, as to create two permanent parties. To one or other, every member must necessarily belong, and to be neutral or vacillating is to be ridiculous and useless. Differences on general principles beget parties; while agreements beget personal union and party confederacies.

XXXIII.

Men who honestly think that the influence of the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished, and who believe that civil liberty is the greatest social blessing, will vote on all questions which involve popular rights and privileges with the popular party; but those who think that a system which works and has worked well, is sufficient; and who confide in the house of Guelph, and its ministers, will of course ally themselves to the court party. The presumption of integrity

will attach to disinterestedness ; and of corruption, to recompence, in the attainment of place and emolument.

XXXIV.

As members of parliament are, for convenience of assemblage, mere representatives and attorneys of their constituents, so every well-disposed member will not omit, from time to time, to confer with the leading men among his constituents, and endeavour to render their opinions on public questions accordant; but, if, from any cause, they are irreconcilable, it will be more honourable at once to resign his trust, than to permit himself to be ejected from his seat with loss and contempt at the next election ; while such proof of his sincerity will promote his true interests far more than an overbearing and unprincipled contempt of those who, for a time, confided to him the guardianship of their interests, and their personal representation in parliament.

XXXV.

The constitution has marked the legislative sin of accepting any place of emolument, by requiring the abandonment of seat; and, of

course, no member who values his character as his fortune will ever barter his vote for any such personal advantage, either in possession or promise: at the same time, place may often be reconciled with principle and integrity; but, as it pledges votes, and binds the receiver to a political party as long as it is held, the reputation of independence is necessarily lost.

XXXVI.

The most difficult task of members for counties, and bodies of real electors, is to satisfy the rapacious cravings of their unreasonable constituents. They are required to provide for them in difficulties, and to promote their sons, generations, and kin; and, to effect this, to ask favours of ministers and men in office: while, if their inflexible independence renders this impracticable, they are, as an alternative, called upon to contribute to every charitable subscription, and to entertain, feed, and support, a tribe of leeches and mean-spirited electors. Thus, an independent seat, as it is called, costs an independent member from 1000 to 1500*l.* per annum, unless he barter his votes, and transfer them, and their claims, to the Treasury Bench. The only cure for the

evil would be, to refer every case of such application to the body of the electors, and advise them to take care of their own poor.

XXXVII.

The most flagrant mal-practices of both houses of parliament, are the general mismanagement of bills in committees, and the loose and irresponsible conduct of members of committees. The system is too frequently a caricature of sober legislation. Indifference in general attendance, partial attendance of interested persons, arbitrary treatment of witnesses, cabals in bringing them up, bartering of votes among members of different committees, with other vices which belong *per se* to such committees; all which abuses ought to be corrected by effectual regulations, as reform not less essential than that in the representation itself.

XXXVIII.

The intermediate remedy is the strict and conscientious attendance of members appointed on committees, and a zealous and enlightened discharge of their duties in them: but a general order ought to affix heavy penalties for every non-attendance, and expulsion

from parliament for total neglect; while committees ought universally to be determined by lot, (not by ballot or nomination,) from the whole efficient body of the House; and remuneration should be made for attendance.

XXXIX.

The Decalogue of Moses is a sound standard of legislation; but, by a strange oversight, legislation is chiefly confined to that clause which prohibits stealing property. That which regards the Sabbath-day is strangely perverted, the true Sabbath neglected, and a *festival* of the Catholic church substituted; so that human authority is opposed to the ancient law, and the wise object of a day of rest founded by the decalogue for Saturday, or the seventh day, is lost. Again, that article which forbids back-biting, scandal, and slander, is not only utterly neglected; but, by the practice of the English courts of law, slanderous words are scarcely ever punishable, and then only by fine. If to steal to the amount of a few shillings incurs transportation or death, surely the taking away of character ought at least to be punished with equal severity. No crime is more mischievous; but, in general, it

is practised with such impunity, that a few old women, or gossiping men, render a residence in a country town, or village, a sort of hell upon earth; while simple punishments of the stocks, pillory, public whipping, and hard labour, would effectually correct the mischief. As Jesus Christ declared that he came to fulfil the laws, not to break them, it might be expected that Christian legislatures would enforce, by statutes, the whole of the fundamental principles of the Decalogue.

XL.

An enlightened legislator will exert his influence to suppress all practices which have engrafted themselves on society in bad and barbarous times, such as duelling, public boxing, bull-baiting, &c. &c. while, on the other hand, he will adopt all necessary means to promote associations for the extension of every kind of useful knowledge; and all popular institutions that are calculated to promote the happiness and gaiety of the people, as dancing, theatres, fairs, public games, &c. as reliefs to their general cares, and as periodical relaxations from their regular toils; and he will on no account permit their suppression owing

to their occasional abuse, and to the trouble which their superintendence may impose on the police or the magistracy.

XLI.

It is the duty of legislators to beware that the various corporations, associations, and institutions, of society, are truly and wisely calculated to promote their professed ends, and do not serve the few by sacrificing the many. They should also particularly examine into the management of public institutions for learning, and see that prejudice, bigotry, and pedantry, do not prevail over truth, improvement, and utility; and that the knowledge of the rising generation, in public schools, keeps pace with that of the community, and the general progress of reason and discovery.

XLII.

This enumeration of the essential qualifications and onerous duties of a legislator, proves that no man ought to aspire to a seat in the House of Commons, merely because he possesses the legal qualification of property, and has convivial talents, which render him popular at a tavern dinner. The true stimulus ought to

be, a desire to do his country some service, and a consciousness that he possesses natural powers and intellectual attainments which are adapted to the station; for, without these, a member not merely renders his incapacity conspicuous, but his misplaced ambition is contemptible and mischievous, because he prevents some more able man from filling the same seat; and is, himself, merely a supple numerator of some faction within the House.

XLIII.

If a member of either House does not compromise himself by hasty and frivolous speeches on questions incapable of proof, or on subjects beneath the dignity of parliament; if he is steady in his connexions and principles; and, if he takes but moderate pains to inform his mind on general subjects, and especially on those before the legislature, no subject of the British empire can be more useful to his country: for the press gives extensive currency to his opinions and conduct; while his position, if skilfully used, confers power and influence on his exertions. An honest man is truly the noblest work of God; but an honest peer, or member of parliament, superadds to this

glorious attribute, the higher virtue of resisting temptation in the various seductive forms in which it is presented to his vanity, interest, and ambition; and, therefore, in acting well his part, he deserves all the honour which the gratitude of his constituents and his country can bestow.

XLIV.

Whether a people are happy or miserable, whether a nation is in prosperity or in adversity, whether its internal policy is a subject of just admiration or condemnation, and whether its external policy accords with the eternal rules of general morality, depend much on the intelligence, vigilance, and eloquence, of the members of the legislature. They ought to possess an intimate personal knowledge of the country; they ought to be actuated by sentiments of benevolence and justice; they ought to feel the importance of their personal position, and sustain it by their activity; and they ought, at all times and in all things, to be stimulated by a passionate love of their country, without forgetting the interests of the human race.

GOLDEN RULES OF CIVIL LIBERTY.

I.

MEN in society surrender natural rights mutually; hence the restraints of law ought to be equal and common to all.

II.

The design of all government is to promote the general and equal benefit and happiness of every member of the community.

III.

The preponderating influence of particular interests being incompatible with the equal benefit of other interests, all governments ought to flow from, and be influenced by, the ascertained will of the whole community.

IV.

Determinations in regard to what is just and true, in regard to individuals and the nation, are the problems which governments and legislators ought to be incessantly employed in solving.

V.

As the only practical test of truth is unanimity of opinion, arising from the same evidence, so all decisions should be unanimous, or be made by the nearest convenient approximations towards unanimity.*

VI.

In the arrangements of every government, the primary care should be to adopt all such practical means as should secure its measures

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* No maxim is practically more true, than that there is confusion in a multitude of counsellors. Eloquence misleads many,—sophistry others,—prejudice more,—the strongest side too many,—affection and hatred others; while, as an assemblage of men adds nothing to the individual wisdom of each, so their collected decision, however imposing, is not wiser than the separate decision of each. The only use of multitudes is the chance of averaging passions, and accumulating information; but,

from error, and enable it to ascertain the truth on every question of policy and practice.

VII.

Votes on public questions should be independent of the fears of the parties, or the machinations of undue influence, and therefore ought, in all cases, to be given by ballot.

VIII.

Every member of the community should have an influence on the government proportioned to his intelligence, and be called upon to perform no duties but such as accord with his intelligence and habits of life.

IX.

The selection of the members of the govern-

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if truth is really the object, it will be more certainly attained by the decisions of five hundred broken into ten or twenty committees, than by a single decision of the whole body. Of course, if the majority decides, the chances of truth or error are only as the numbers on each side, even when no feelings, extraneous to the question, influence the votes; and, as feelings are more numerous and operative than arguments, so majorities are no tests of truth; and it too often happens that truth is on the side of the baffled minority.

ment ought to flow from the universal will; but that will or choice should be regulated by encreased intelligence, as the importance of office advances.

X.

That the suffrages of the people may be universal, but, at the same time, regulated by their intelligence, every ten men, of mature age and sound mind, within a small district, should elect annually, with re-eligibility for five years, one of their number as a local delegate, another as a militia-man, and a third as a constable.

XI.

Every hundred delegates should assemble in primary meetings within their locality, and elect a magistrate, with re-eligibility for three years, three guardians of the poor, three arbitrators of private disputes, and three representatives to a general provincial assembly.

XII.

Three hundred representatives of every hundred local assemblies should meet annually, and elect three of its members to a

national legislature, a sheriff of the province, and also seven magistrates, with re-eligibility for three years, to preside at sessions on criminal trials, and hear appeals against decisions of local arbitrators.*

XIII.

The legislature should elect one member in every ten to a senate, with equal power in the enactment of laws and the assessment of taxes.

XIV.

The senate should elect one of every ten to

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* It would be desirable that, in the legislature, certain classes should be specially represented in addition to the general representation of the population, for the sake of obtaining their information, and guarding against their intrigues in the popular elections; thus, one in every hundred representatives should be returned by the lawyers, the divines of all congregations, the medical professions, the universities or public schools, the printers, the owners of ships, the captains of ships, the commanders of regiments, the servants of the government, and the foreigners who are housekeepers. The legislature would thus amalgamate the interests and best intelligence of the entire community.

form an executive council, with re-eligibility for three years.

XV.

The Executive Council would thus pass through five elections, ascending from the people; the Senate through four; the Lower House through three; the Provincial Assemblies through two; and the Primary Meetings through one; each election being made by a higher degree of intelligence, and its independence secured by the mode of ballot.

XVI.

No practising lawyer, no beneficed or acting clergyman, no commissioned officer in the army or navy, and no permanent placeman, should be eligible to a seat in the provincial assemblies, or to the office of magistrate, arbitrator, or juryman.

XVII.

Juries should be summoned by the sheriff in rotation, in the order of their local residences, from among the tything-men, from at least three districts of the court's jurisdiction.

XVIII.

Grand and Special Juries should be taken in similar rotation and manner, from among the representatives of the county or provincial assemblies.

XIX.

No discretionary punishments should be assigned by the presiding magistrates in courts of criminal judicature; but, when the punishment is undefined by the law, the jury should assign a maximum and minimum for the guide of the magistrates.

XX.

The use of the press, and the right of publication, should be unrestrained; but its abuse may be checked by a Grand Jury, convened for the purpose, and punished by the verdict of a jury composed half from primary assemblies and half from county assemblies.

XXI.

All debtors should be allowed to adjust and conclude their obligations with a majority of two in three, or three in four, of their *bonâ fide* creditors; and persons fraudulently assuming

to be creditors, should be compelled, for a limited time, to work on the highways, with iron collars round their necks.

XXII.

Every primary district should be provided with an asylum for the sick, and the aged, and incurably diseased poor.

XXIII.

Every man whose military or naval services are required by the public, should be a volunteer from the militia, and be remunerated, at least, in the same degree that he would be in any private employment.

XXIV.

In the army, double the required number of corporals and serjeants should be elected by the privates, subject to the selection of the superior officers; the ensigns and lieutenants should be nominated for each company by the primary assemblies; double the number of the captains should be elected from among the lieutenants, and the major by the captains; subject in such case to the selection of the lieut.-colonel and colonel, who should them-

selves be selected by the executive council, from among double the number of superior officers elected by the captains.

XXV.

The greatest proprietor of land in every district should be obliged, on due application, to build convenient residences for all married men who give assurance of good conduct; and allot to the same, on average terms of rental, at least as many acres of land as constitute an equal family share of all the land.

XXVI.

To enable small farmers to cultivate on equal advantages with large ones, every district should be provided with a public stable, and with a repository of machinery calculated to facilitate labour, for general use, at an expence to be equally borne.

XXVII.

All children from six to twelve should receive elementary instruction at public schools, free of expence; registers of their conduct be kept, and public rewards adjudged at the meeting of the district assembly.

XXVIII.

Every primary district should be provided with a public library, consisting of books voted at the primary meetings; also with an assembly room for winter balls, and with a walk and music, for summer promenades.

XXIX.

Every county town should be provided with a theatre, to be held by a qualified company, free of rent and taxes.

XXX.

A Committee of Constitution, consisting of one from each provincial or county assembly, should be appointed every three years, to examine into the purity and perfectibility of the institutions, and draw up reports on the same, for the guidance of the legislature.

GOLDEN RULES IN FAVOUR OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

I.

No man can in justice be made criminally answerable for mere abstract opinions, which result from the honest convictions of his reason: for it is not only wicked and blasphemous, but absurd and unjust, for any man to set up his own opinions as standards of theological faith for the implicit guide of any other man.

II.

As every man claims the right of following the sober dictates of his own judgment in matters of religion, so he should candidly and

freely allow others, with equal latitude, to follow their own convictions. Religion, on its own hypothesis, is a concern between man and his God; and all that men have to do with each other is, their mutual practice as fellow-citizens.

III.

Men, considered as body and mind, are social and spiritual; having, in their social relations, duties to perform to their neighbours and their country; and, in their spiritual relations, duties to God. These obligations spring from sources different as their objects. The one is the law of the state; and its object is, the conservation of society. The other is the law of God; and the object is, the government of a man's own conscience, and his happiness in a future state.

IV.

The source of the first is allegiance and submission to the law; and the source of the other is religious feeling under God's grace. The one arises from temporal and reciprocal personal considerations; and the other is the communion of every man's own soul with his Maker.

They are two powers exercised on the same being, entirely independent of each other, applicable to distinct functions of the person, not discordant, yet wholly unconnected.

V.

The publication of opinions, on abstract, scientific, and speculative, subjects, is no criminal libel, breach of the peace, or social crime; but is a duty which every honest man is bound to perform; that, if true, they may be adopted, and that, if false, they may be refuted.

VI.

If it be said that certain doctrines are from God, and ought therefore not to be disputed, it is evident that doctrines, which emanate from an all-powerful Deity, cannot be shaken or overturned by man; and therefore the publication of any adverse opinions of man must necessarily be harmless.

VII.

On any questions of religion, there can be no standard of truth but human reason, or the alleged operations of the spirit of God, and

conviction is the result of either or both; and this result, as a natural, or as a supernatural effect, is a question between a man and his own powers of reason, or between a man and his God; and therefore not properly cognizable by any other man, or controllable by any human tribunal.

VIII.

It has been invariably found that, where the mind has had its free exercise, mankind have founded different points of faith on the same system of religion; and that such variation arises from the varied dispositions of men, and proves the absurdity of restraint, or of legislating on matters of religious opinion.

IX.

Any assumed common law, on which to found a religious prosecution, can be no other than the law of prejudice, malice, and persecution, inherent in all ages in the minds of wicked and unjust men; and is the very same law, having the same sources, as the pretended laws under which Socrates was poisoned and Jesus Christ crucified.

X.

If this right were subject to any restriction or limitation, as far as regards subjects and questions of general interest, it would be altogether useless; for the publication of error often leads to the detection of truth; and, while free discussion and publication are allowed, error is harmless, because it can by the same means be refuted.

XI.

If the opinions of persons in authority were admitted as standards of truth, just as the opinions of prosecutors are in any prosecution assumed to be standards of truth, we might at this day, by parity of reasoning, have been involved in the darkness of Pagan worship, of Druidical rites, of Roman mythology, and of Popish superstition; all of which have successively been standards of truth among the public authorities of former ages.

XII.

In every Christian country in Europe, the utmost latitude of free publication has been practised with impunity; particularly

in France, Holland, Switzerland, and Prussia: even under the despotic sway of the Bourbons the writings of Voltaire, Diderot, D'Alembert, Rousseau, Volney, and others, were freely published, and did not deprive their authors of honours and renown.

XIII.

The employment of the force of law, or of the civil and military power, to maintain opinions, affords a demonstrative proof, that those who consider it necessary to resort to such weapons, must know that their opinions are unsupportable by reasoning, and aware that they are not upheld by omnipotent power.

XIV.

All the attempts to render courts of law, or mere human tribunals, standards of theological opinions, have led to the various wicked, bloody, and disgraceful, martyrdoms, which stain the pages of history; at which every succeeding age blushes for the errors, absurdities, and crimes, of preceding ages.

XV.

If any erroneous, persecuting, vindic-

tive, and intolerant, proceeding, were to lead to any cruel punishment, the proceedings of the court, and all concerned in them, would be viewed by sensible, just, and liberal, contemporaries, and by every man in future ages, with the abhorrence in which all men hold the courts of Inquisition, and those jurisdictions of barbarous times by which similar martyrdoms have been perpetrated.

XVI.

Allegiance and submission are compatible with every religion, and exist, as matters of fact, with equal force in all nations. Allegiance is as strong and operative in Italy as in England, in Holland as in Spain, in Turkey as in France, and in China as in Russia, though the spiritual faith and the forms of religion are, in each, so different. The King of England has loyal and submissive subjects of all religions in the respective British colonies. Religion has not, therefore, more connexion with allegiance, or with loyalty and submission, than with the stature or colour of men, or the fashion of their clothing.

XVII.

It is not more necessary that good subjects

should be of the same religion, than that they should be six feet high, or wear brown or scarlet colours, close coats, or flowing robes. Allegiance, the bond of society, is the same in the Turk, the Gentoo, the Protestant, and the Catholic. The duties of a privy counsellor, or other servant of the state, are prompted by his allegiance and by his personal interests, not by his spiritual opinions.

XVIII.

There is no crime in seeking to make proselytes; but, as every religion is believed by its votaries to be true, it would be thought officious, arrogant, and impertinent, if the various religions were to send missionaries into Britain to convert us. Some would laugh at them, and others would be disposed to stone them; while, as all religion is professed to be derived from Heaven, we should tell them that, if God willed, we should become Mahometans, Brahmins, Boodists, &c. &c. without their puny interference. Let the religion of others alone, unless you have credentials from heaven in the alleged apostolic powers of the gift of tongues, working of miracles, and raising the dead; for, without

these, it is presumption to interfere with others, and your only duty on this subject is to look to yourself.

XIX.

The best rule about religion for an honest man is not to affect to believe that which does not convince his own understanding; and, to consider the understanding with which the God of nature has endowed him as the sufficient rule of his faith on all subjects whatever. Religions are to be respected because they aid the law in correcting the ferocity of men, and enabling them to promote each other's welfare in society; and that which is established in a country is always the best, if it do not meddle with politics and government, because it accords with men's earliest feelings; and therefore any attempt to change it, leads to discord and bloodshed.

XX.

Though one man may affirm the Trinity, and another deny it; one the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and another deny it; one affirm the sleep in the grave till the resurrection of the body, another an intermediate purgatory,

and another the immediate transfer of the soul to heaven; one maintain the supremacy of the Pope, and another of the King of England; one assert that Jesus, the son of Sirach, was the Jesus of the Evangelists, and another maintain that two contemporaries of the same name taught the same doctrines, or that the two were not contemporary; one prefer the Sabbath of the commandments, and another the Sabbath of human authority;—yet, from all these opinions, their collision and discussion, truth must finally be elicited, if enquiry is unrestricted, and discussion free; while, without such freedom, truth might be extinguished, and belief become hollow and servile.

XXI.

Religious opinions are not necessarily connected with the state, nor with the duties of good subjects; and, if connected, or attempted to be connected, an incongruity of social relations would arise; for, if one were made a test of the other, such test would serve as a bribe to enforce conformity, which would be accepted by the insincere, and operate only as an exclusion of sincerity.

XXII.

Religious tests are an infringement of liberty of conscience, because, without their conformity, good men would be deprived of their rights of citizenship; for every man, personally deserving, has an unalienable right to participate in the honours and emoluments of the society to which he contributes his talents and industry, without reference to his religious faith, to his stature, or to any circumstance unconnected with his allegiance.

XXIII.

If the church of God is in every man's own conscience, it is, as it ought to be, independent of the fluctuations of human affairs, and it ought not to be in the power of one man, owing to the existence of a state religion, to render a Catholic people Protestant, nor of a woman to render them Catholic again; nor of her successor to restore them again to Protestantism, as has happened in England.

XXIV.

Religion, as in the United States of America, should be the personal and conscientious concern of every man with God; it should

have as many centres as there are men's hearts, and its fate would not then be mingled with that of establishments, while that which is best would flourish the most.

XXV.

The ministers of religion should be liberally supported by public assessments, distributed according to the number of souls of whom they are the approved guardians. The interests of religion might be guarded in the legislature, by representatives elected from the body of religious ministers.

XXVI.

Under such a system, there might be greater variety of opinions, but there would be more sincerity and fewer hypocrites; while truth would prevail, or have a fair chance of prevailing, because it would be wholly uninfluenced by sinister motives and sordid calculations.

XXVII.

If there were no exclusive church establishment, there could exist no jealousies in regard to its support; but, if one were set up, it might

be likened to the statue of Nebuchadnezzar, the worship of which might be imposed, but such worship would obviously be a duty wholly unconnected with the essential duties of good and useful subjects.

XXVIII.

Under a system in which the alliance of religious faith and political obligations was dissolved, the ministers of religion might nevertheless be integrated with society, and all institutions connected with education be preserved and honoured, while sound piety and superior learning would maintain their wonted ascendancy, and the spirit of religious proselytism would cease to be excited by the ambition of directing the state, or monopolizing the exclusive revenues of the state church.

XXIX.

Allegiance, obedience, submission, talent, and integrity, should be the only qualifying tests of public confidence and employment; for these are the only qualities really connected with duties to the state and country.

GOLDEN RULES TO BE REMEMBERED IN THE STUDY OF NATURE, AND METAPHYSICAL PHILOSOPHY.

I.

REMEMBER that reason, truth, and demonstration, are the only authorities in Philosophy; and that the faith of no man is a proper foundation of the faith of another, unless his doctrine be sustained by reason, truth, and demonstration.

II.

Remember that we only know Nature in the degree in which it is cognizable by our senses, and not otherwise; that our senses take cognizance only of material existences, or of matter in various densities and forms; and that all our reflections and reasonings are founded on knowledge thus acquired.

III.

Remember that the only other thing besides

matter, with which, by experience, we become acquainted, is the space in which matter is contained; and that these two things, matter and space, are always, within equal dimensions, inversely as each other.

IV.

Remember that matter transferred from one part of space to another, is then said to be moved; and the quantity of motion is the quantity of space moved through by the same quantity of matter; consequently, both matter and space are necessary to motion.

V.

Remember that bodies in motion move other bodies by impact, change their place or relative position, and produce new dispositions, called phænomena; which capability of producing change, is called force or power, and no other force or power is either conceivable or necessary.

VI.

Remember that all force, or power, is matter in motion; and that there is no other known or justly-imaginable force, besides matter in

motion: consequently, that power, force, and matter in motion, are convertible terms, of which matter and space are the essential components.

VII.

Remember that without matter there could be no force, and without space, no force;—matter and space are, therefore, the primary causes of all phenomena; and, wherever there are phenomena, there are forces to produce them, or some matter in some motion.

VIII.

Remember that the assigning of any cause but the true cause, leads to false analogies, obstructs the progress of science, and leads to an endless labyrinth of errors.

IX.

Remember, universally, that the causes of all phenomena are some matter in some motion; and that, whenever any other causes are assumed by writers on these subjects, as powers of attraction, repulsion, gravitation, caloric, chemistry, &c. &c. all these powers are so many gross absurdities introduced by sentiments of superstition, or are frauds to disguise

ignorance of the true cause, and impose on credulity by equivocal and high-sounding words.—*See* APPENDIX.

X.

Remember that *action* is the imparting of force from one body or atom to another; that *re-action* is the reception or division of the said force; that *friction* is a mode of parting with motion by contact; or by a direction of motion different from the direction caused by centripetal force, vulgarly called weight, or, learnedly, gravity; that *resistance* is a mode of parting with motion to successive atoms; and that *inertia* is a pre-existing force in a direction contrary to that of a force applied; consequently, if any bodies existed which were already unmoved, they would have no inertia.

XI.

Remember that the assumed powers of attraction, of whatever kind, are grossly absurd, because every motion takes place only in the direction of the acting force; and, when bodies go together, the motion of each must be derived from the opposite side, where the

other body is not; and be also, in each, actually contrary to the resulting motion of the other body.—*See* APPENDIX.

XII.

Remember that the assumed powers of repulsion, of whatever kind, are grossly absurd, because each of the bodies moves in a contrary direction; and a body moving one way cannot produce a motion in another body in a contrary direction to its own motion.

XIII.

Remember that, as there is no attraction, there is no universal gravitation; and that weight (disingenuously translated into gravitation) is but a motion or endeavour to move in a particular direction, from some competent force, or some transfer of other motions operating in that direction.

XIV.

Remember that, in every body in motion, the centre of the momentum is the centre of the number of atoms of which it consists; and that, therefore, all the parts act and re-act mutually and generally with reference to that

centre: consequently, this mechanical principle is the sufficient general cause of the fall of parts of bodies in common motions towards their common centre of motion, as in planetary bodies.

XV.

Remember that the two-fold motions of the earth, and all planets, are the competent cause of the fall of all the parts towards the centre, and the sufficient local cause of the aggregation of all planetary masses, and of the direction of every part towards the common centre of their motions.

XVI.

Remember that caloric, or the matter of heat, is a mere fancy, no heat being known distinct from matter; and the causes being universally some collision, friction, or percussion of matter, or some fixation of atoms previously in motion, which, in fixing, impart their previous motions, and thereby exhibit the perception of heat, and dispersive powers on other atoms.

XVII.

Remember that chemistry is the phenomena

of atoms, and that these in different shapes and motions are and must be competent to produce all the various phenomena.

XVIII.

Remember that gas universally consists of atoms, which deflect one another into circular motions, the density being inversely as the orbits; and these, being as the original excitement of motion, according to the quantity of atoms fixed by the fire.

XIX.

Remember that, as re-action determines the orbits of the atoms of gas, or the density of gas, so space must necessarily be full of gas; and that all forces and motions, propagated within gases or fluids, radiate inversely as the squares of the distances; in proof of which universal diffusion of gas, it appears that the forces of the sun and planets are diffused according to that necessary law of the gazeous radiation of force.

XX.

Remember that action and re-action are equal; and, consequently, that the force of the

solar motions, diffused according to the above law, combined with the re-action of each planet, is the competent cause of the orbicular motions of the several planets.

XXI.

Remember that the earth and moon form a combined system of bodies moved by the solar forces acting on their fulcrum; towards which fulcrum, as the centre of the common force, the mobile waters always direct themselves, so as to cause the tides.—*See* APPENDIX.

XXII.

Remember that the elliptical orbits of the planets can be occasioned only by their own varied re-actions to the common Sun; and that the competent cause of such varied re-action, is the accommodating position of the mobile waters, just as they are known to exist, in different quantities, in the northern and southern hemispheres of the earth.

XXIII.

Remember that these waters enlarge their own beds by the re-actions and attrition of land; and that, in consequence, the line of

Apsides progresses through the ecliptic at the ascertained present rate of 20,900 years for the entire circle; and hence, that, within such period, the ocean passes, and has often passed, from one hemisphere to the other, occasioning all the varied strata of land and marine remains.

XXIV.

Remember that the rotation of the earth and planets on their axes, unaccordant with any other theory, arises from the *re-action* of the medium of space towards and through which the planet is progressing, like the rotation of cannon-balls, or bowls; and that, as the action of propulsion is greatest on the near hemisphere, so the re-action is also greatest in that hemisphere; and thus the earth, in progressing from east to west, turns on its near-side from west to east, and on its off-side from east to west; though this phenomenon may be also connected with the motions of the system of the earth and moon, and the tides be considered as mere consequences of inequalities of action and re-action.

XXV.

Remember that the solar forces are great-

est in the plane of the sun's equator, but governed in width by the inclination of his axis; and hence the breadth of the ecliptic, or the general planetary orbits.

XXVI.

Remember that comets move across the plane of the solar system at large angles, or inclinations, from the hemispheres of space unoccupied by planets, but are deflected from their course as they pass through the plane of the solar forces; and hence their necessary peculiar orbits.

XXVII.

Remember that the luminous projections from comets are simple refractions and condensations of solar light, reflected from the medium, or gas, of space; and affording, by such reflection, ocular proof of the universal existence of such gas, while they are incapable of the portentous effects ascribed to them by mistaken or superstitious writers.

XXVIII.

Remember that all gas must, of necessity, expand as far as other re-actions will permit;

for gas is simply projected atoms deflected into orbits by other atoms previously existing in the space; consequently, expansion will be determined by mere re-action, and gas must expend wherever there is space unoccupied.

XXIX.

Remember that the peculiar phænomena of the terrestrial atmosphere, in weight equal to elasticity, is simply occasioned by the globe of the earth moving through the gas of space, and rotating within it; by which the same effect is produced on the adjacent gas as on other bodies connected with the earth, and the re-action and the collision determine the elasticity.

XXX.

Remember that the principle of gaseous expansion renders it unavoidable that every equal space should possess an equal quantity of momenta in the atoms within it; or that the gaseous atoms around it must press and act upon it, so as to endeavour, with a given force, to render the momenta equal; and hence, the action of gases on solids, and the local atmospheres of surfaces, created by the

adjoining gas, and the substance of the body abraded by the action of the gas.

XXXI.

Remember that aerial gas, and gases in general, exist in various combinations of large and small atoms, revolving in harmonious and convenient juxta-position, to which varieties, in positive and relative powers, the names of heat-making, oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen, &c. have been conveniently given.

XXXII.

Remember that the same excitement of motion, or different re-actions of boundary surfaces, will differently affect the atoms of heterogeneous gas, and thereby separate them within the excited space or boundary surfaces; and this result of separation, under different circumstances, displays all the phenomena called electric, galvanic, and magnetic.

XXXIII.

Remember that, as the force of excitement, and varied re-action, cause the separation, so re-union, or restoration to a state of convenient juxta-position, is sought with an equal force;

consequently, if any light body, or any body moveable with less force than that of re-union, is placed in the disturbed space, it will be propelled from side to side; which propulsions have been, in the superstitious jargon of philosophy, called attractions and repulsions, and ascribed to the unintelligible action of some incomprehensible fluids.

XXXIV.

Remember that whenever certain gaseous atoms are, by any atomic excitement, intensely propelled, they create the perception of light; and this is the case during the union of oxygen and hydrogen gases, after the evolution of the latter, in connexion with atoms of carbon; during which the oxygen becoming fixed, creates the local heat, and its previous motions imparted to the gas at the place, cause its atoms to propel one another around, as they fill the surrounding space, and thus they propagate distant atomic affections called Light.

XXXV.

Remember that light or flame is universally a mechanical *atomic* affection, produced by the fixation of gas in certain combinations;

that electrical light is the effect of the recombination of a surface through a single point; that the flame of combustion is the effect of the fixation of oxygen atoms, whose previous motions are dispersed around in trains from one atom to the next; and that, whatever is calculated to propagate an intense *atomic* propulsion from atom to atom, is a cause of light.

XXXVI.

Remember that light must be as various as the atoms affected; hence the phænomena of the prismatic spectrum, which exhibits all the atoms combined in the atmosphere, in mechanical separation, in their gradations of energy or colour; and in chemical qualities from end to end, exactly corresponding; consequently, the prism, in transmitting excited atoms, is in its spectrum a test of the atoms in the atmosphere, and the most delicate test ever contrived.

XXXVII.

Remember that sound is a gross vibration of all the atoms of the same kind; that each kind produces different tones; that light and sound are two several modes of affecting the

same medium, (light being an *atomic* propulsion of atom against atom, and sound a general action of *the mass;)* that the identical atoms do not travel more in light than in sound; and, in fine, that the prismatic and diatonic scales accord in proportions, because each is produced by mechanical affections of the very same medium.

XXXVIII.

Remember that, as motion and force exist wherever there is gas, so, whatever is so constituted as to assimilate and fix certain gaseous atoms, acquires the previous momenta of those atoms, and is capable of displaying their energy: and this is the condition of all animated nature, for all animals are provided with lungs, or pneumatic and chemical apparatus for inhaling and fixing oxygenous gas, the motions of which, imparted to them, constitute their life, strength, and energy.

XXXIX.

Remember that, as heat is atomic motion, so the motion of the gas transferred to the animal also imparts the perception called heat; and its accumulation, dispersion of atoms, or per-

spiration; that obstructed radiation produces accelerated action, or fever; and, in fine, that gas, or atoms in motion, are the *primum mobile* of the animal system, which acts like a loco-motive steam-engine against the earth; and, by re-action, performs all the functions of loco-motion and animal strength.

XL.

Remember that the atmosphere is composed of primary principles, called the oxygenous and the nitrogenous; and that these principles, in separation, produce the phenomena of electricity; that, therefore, the fixation of oxygen in the lungs produces a re-action of nitrogen at the skin: and hence the absorption of nitrogen, the discolouring of the blood, and that flitting action and re-action of which the sensitive animal is the intermediate result.

XLI.

Remember that the processes of attrition and amalgamation, in animal circulations and assimilations, are such as would generate the medium atoms of nitrogen from the hydrogen of food, and the oxygen of respiration; and that animals may hence be an elaboratory of

nitrogen, while this process points out the nature of that gas in accordance with its middle position in the prismatic decomposition of atmospheric air.

XLII.

Remember that animals do not think *per se;* that experience and education gradually develope their powers; that their habits are determined by their forms and capabilities; and that their senses for discrimination indicate their individual free-agency, in subordination to more general laws.

XLIII.

Remember that the senses of individuality, consciousness, and the power of saying *I am*, are necessary results of continued personal experience; and that it would be most whimsical if all the senses, and the varied actions and re-actions of one animal, generated any perceptions for another, or for any but their own patient; hence that every animal, in its sensitive and reasoning powers, is made up, or is a mere result, of his experience; one intellectual effect being a cause of another effect,

While none of these phænomena belong to the infant animal as qualities or powers *per se*.

XLIV.

Remember that vegetables subsist, like animals, by economising the gases; but, being fixed in one spot, and having no choice, they have no senses or nervous system for appropriating experience, and reasoning by analogy; but that animals for loco-motion have internal cavities for soil and roots, which extend from those cavities through connecting vessels to nurture the system, with Senses to avoid dangers, and discriminate the soil adapted to the cavity and roots of their stomachs.

XLV.

Remember that vegetables and animals are varieties of existence, whose essential distinction is the animal faculty of moving about; to sustain which, new powers of sensation, perception, memory, and reasoning by analogy, are necessary, with a peculiarity of structure by which the roots centre in the cavity of the stomach, into which cavity suitable soil is to be put, diseases following if the roots are rotted by too much manure, or artificial com-

post, as alcohol, spices, &c. the progression of nature teaching, that atoms generate organic bodies, then vegetables, and then animals.

XLVI.

Remember that the arithmetical ratio by which assimilation of food and diminution take place, arrives at a limit, and determines the bulk and maturity of the vegetable and animal; that the energies are then counterbalanced by the exhaustion, and the being ceases by the same law which governed its growth,—animal and vegetable life being exactly represented by regular curves,—an ascent in youth, an apex at maturity, and then a similar descent in age, all regular and proportional.

XLVII.

Remember that all organized nature is divided into male and female, because all causation consists of action and re-action, and these require an agent and patient to produce a third thing, or new being; and also because, as reproduction thus requires the concurrence of separated powers, the presence of support, or means of life, is at the same time implied.

XLVIII.

Remember that all things that exist are physically fit; and, while they continue to exist, are in harmony, and must be in harmony, with all other things; that unfitness, or want of harmony, leads to extinction and death; and that, therefore, there is an universal harmony in regard to all existing things, and an exact balance of causes and effects.

XLIX.

Remember that the difficulty of analysis is accelerated by the complication of the thing to be examined; and that, therefore, the metaphysical and medical schools involve themselves in a climax of absurdities and intellectual mysteries, by their attempted analysis of educated and perfected animals, and adopting the results as powers *per se.*

L.

Remember that accessions of attributes are equivalent to harmonious final causes; and that, therefore, all nature is best examined in primitive forms and infant stages; for the additions, and even accumulations, of attributes, then involve no difficulties.

LI.

Remember that, if thus examined, the famed principle of life, added to matter, in vegetables and animals, will be found to be the faculty or capability of fixing the moving atoms of gas, and of receiving and appropriating their momenta, from which result heat, circulation, and muscular vigour.

LII.

Remember that, as all respiration produces separation of the gaseous constituents; and that, as their solicited re-union constitutes electricity and galvanism in one relation, so, in another; it constitutes nervous excitement, and the energy of animal chemistry.

LIII.

Remember that, as new-born infants have no perceptions, volitions, thoughts, reasonings, language, abstractions, &c. &c. so all these powers do not belong to the animal *per se*, but are accidents and additions, and not to be treated of as integral necessary parts of the educated man.

LIV.

Remember that the infant organization of

man comes into the world an assemblage of mere capabilities, like the young of other animals, consisting of respiratory organs for fixing in their systems the motions of the atoms of the gaseous atmosphere, with a stomach to receive nutritive soil for assimilation and elimination; with a system of circulating vessels and jointed muscles for varied directions of leverage; and with a medullary system, capable, by its reticular construction, of transferring excitements from without to the mechanical focus in the brain, which, in all animals, treasures experience, and reasons by analogy.

LV.

Remember that the medullary system of man is more refined, subtle, and complicated, than that of other animals; hence its education is prolonged, while the results are his intellectual ascendancy over them; and is capable of such variation, that, in different parts of the world, the same organization, by education, becomes either an Englishman or a Chinese, a Frenchman or a Tartar, a Christian or a Mahomedan, a Brahmin or a Pope, a vulgar man or a polished gentleman.

LVI.

Remember that men, in the development of their medullary system, assume every variety of character, and, in respect to their conduct, opinions, religion, habits, language, and propensities, are altogether artificial, and totally unlike one another, except in having plastic common powers, capable at the same time of being totally opposite to what they are in their ultimate characteristics. The difference between men and animals consists in the varied subtlety and complication of the medullary system, while the differences between men consist in the varied education of the medullary system.

LVII.

Remember that the subtlety of the medullary system of man, aided by the organs of voice, and the faculty of the hands, generates various ultimate phenomena, not developed by more simple systems of brain and nerves: hence the complicated passions, virtues, and vices, successively acquired and exhibited by the human race; the manœuvres by which manual labour is shifted from one to another; the intrigues and coquetry of the sexes; the

abuses of all social arrangements and institutions; and the necessity of social laws, incessant legislation, moral obligations, and even of religious institutions, for restraint, coercion, and regulation.

LVIII.

Remember that, as it is with man, so it is with all animals: they have senses and capabilities, simple or complex,—if simple, soon educated,—if complex, long in training; while their senses and experience would be utterly useless, unless they universally possessed powers of memory, and a capability of reasoning by analogy.

LIX.

Remember that SPACE, or actual extension, is the most simple, pure, eternal, necessary, and immutable, object of human cognizance; that it is the recipient of all matter, and the stage for displaying the phenomena of all material existence; that it is the essential ingredient of all power, because power is as velocity, or as the space occupied in the same time; that it seems, therefore, to be the everlasting womb of nature which evolves all

things, and into whose bosom all things return, and that it is not the less an universal actuality because essentially immaterial.

LX.

Remember that TIME is the measure of SPACE, or the measure of motion, or the measure of successive relations or phenomena; that it is eternal, because changes have eternal succession, and because SPACE, which it measures, is infinite in extent; that SPACE by reciprocity is infinite, because progression in eternal time could reach no finite boundary; that time is a negation of power, which is directly as the SPACE occupied, but inversely as the time; while, with reference to our perceptions, Time is commensurate with them, and merely relative, being inversely as our past experience, or long in youth and short in old age; long during the intense feeling of pain, or deferred hope, when moments are counted; and short in seasons of gaiety, when impressions are volatilized by the imagination; yet averaged by numbers of individuals, and equal in its divided sum to its equality in nature.

LXI.

Remember that the sublime and necessary

harmony of nature ought to check the presumptive pride of man, who, instead of assuming that all things were made for his use, abuse, and caprice, and becoming the universal destroyer of all objects of his senseless aversion, ought, with humility, to feel his subservience to nature, and to accommodate his own existence to that of all the other existences evolved by the harmony of the unceasing creation; and, if he should insolently assert, that his caprices are part of that harmony, let him look to Asia, to Palestine, and to Africa, countries which he has rendered waste by his desolating pride, ignorance, and improvidence.

LXII.

Remember that MATTER, in its abstraction and essence, is display of power, absolute with reference to the totality, but relative with reference to the parts; that power is directly as space, or motion, or velocity; and inversely as matter or resistance; that evidence of resistance is evidence that space is filled with power, with universal re-action, or with matter, either substantially, or in such motion as to occupy every point of space in every infinitessimal of time; consequently,

that matter and space are co-extensive; that matter and space are inversely as each other; and as space does not move, so all power is as the matter, or as the number of atoms moved, power being a mere relation of matter; and that, as matter exists in continuity or proximity, so the definite power of one atom is transferred to others, sometimes producing visible changes, and, at other times, being indefinitely subdivided without sensible disturbance.

LXIII.

Remember, that what we call substance, is merely a collection of powers within certain dimensions of space; that the qualities are mere relations to our powers, perceptions, or tests, which to us are so many standards of distinction; that the matter exists as much as we exist, because action and re-action are always equal; that, nevertheless, our tests being relative, we can conceive no better of the depths of space, or indefinite smallness of atoms, than we do of the lengths or infinitude of space, though it is obvious that all definite bodies are composed of such indefinitely small atoms, with which all power or

motion begins; that these nascent points combined, or partly simple and partly combined, or wholly combined, constitute, in relation, proximity, or juxta-position, the solids, fluids, and gases, which compose planets and systems of planets, in all the varieties of body which subsist upon and within them.

LXIV.

Remember that the final cause of all things is intimately blended with the harmony of the whole; that particular existences are necessary results of that harmony, cause and effect being like the two ends of a lever, simultaneously moving on a fulcrum; that nature is an active totality, of which particulars are patients, live if you can, being the law of existence; while the general harmony constitutes a perfect result.

LXV.

Remember that, although it is difficult to comprehend the harmonious connexion of the small with the great, yet, as the motions of the solar heat tend to volatilize the earth, so vegetables simultaneously perform a fixing

process, while the loco-motive organizations not merely refix and return to the earth what might otherwise be diffused in space, but probably serve to scatter and deflect motions which continued impulsions might render accelerative; while the cause and the consequence, and the consequence and the cause, produce an actual result in accordance and harmony.

LXVI.

Remember that, although a sort of legerdemain change of the date of the year, as 1809 to 1890, changes all the particular organizations on the earth, yet the various circles of causes, and the regular series of antagonist powers, maintain a succession, and that the sum, or totality, is on the whole earth alike, accompanied by the same passions, the same generated sense of identity, and effecting the same purposes in the great, wonderful, and harmonious scheme of nature.

LXVII.

Remember that, if the simple declarations and record of facts be considered as philosophy, the vulgar are as wise as the philoso-

phers; and that, although facts are the data of philosophers, on which to generalize and infer causes, yet he who assembles them is merely a useful pioneer, and not, therefore, a philosopher,—an inference which applies equally to phænomena observed, and to the detection of any arithmetical law of their action.

LXVIII.

Remember that there is no philosophy in the vulgar fact, that all terrestrial bodies fall towards the centre of the earth; no philosophy in the vulgar fact, that twice the quantity falls with twice the force; nor any philosophy in calling the phænomenon by the vulgar name of weight, or in translating this name into gravitation; while it is an insult, both on reason and philosophy, to consider this coinage of language as an explication of the cause of the phænomena.

LXIX.

Remember that Newton himself did not use the term gravitation as a cause, but left the ignominy of this abuse of it to his followers; that, nevertheless, he assumed it to

be a *central* force any how produced, and under the notion of this indifference, as to the cause, extended it in a *particular direction* through the universe, founding on this false analogy of a universal central force, his system of physics.

LXX.

Remember that no such central force as that assumed by Newton can exist, simply because bodies cannot act where they are not, and even push each other from their opposite sides, where neither is present; that, therefore, the earth does not push a stone on its upward side; nor the earth, the moon, at its opposite side; nor the moon the earth, at the antipodes; nor the sun the planets, on their opposite sides; nor the planets one another: all which suppositions are logically absurd; and belief in them is a degradation of human reason.

LXXI.

Remember that the basis of superstition is the assigning of effects to causes not in mechanical and material connexion; and, if in connexion, not in power, or direction of

power, corresponding with the magnitude or circumstances of the effect; and that such basis of superstition is the radical error of the physics of Newton, the chemistry of Lavoisier, the miracles of priestcraft, and the wonders of enchantment. They teach the existence of powers *per se*, and powers *sui generis*, as short roads to knowledge; and conceal their ignorance, by using terms which merely mystify the understandings of their disciples.

LXXII.

Remember that the proof of one thing is not a proof of another thing, however adroitly it may be attempted to ally them; and that this false alliance was made by Newton when he united his hypothetical physical powers to geometrical diagrams, and then, by demonstrations in regard to the latter, conceived that he equally demonstrated the former.

LXXIII.

Remember that truth is the sole object of philosophical enquiry, and that one fundamental truth serves as the root of others, constituting the tree of knowledge; consequently, it is not indifferent whether we

ascribe true or false causes to phenomena; and questions about causes are not disputes about mere names, as many pretend, who seek a base apology for teaching and cherishing errors, which they cannot defend by direct reasoning.

LXXIV.

Remember that the principle that bodies act in power, where they are not present, and in directions contrary to that in which they are moving, are gross absurdities; and yet these absurdities are the foundations of all those modes of acting by attraction and repulsion, which men in superstitious ages introduced into nature, which are to this day applied to illustrate all kinds of phænomena, and tenaciously maintained by all societies and universities in the civilized world.

LXXV.

Remember that no planetary phænomena ever exhibited any attractive or central force; that the clusters, or systems of fixed stars, indicate its non-existence,—even if so absurd principle were worthy of a formal argument; that the law, called the law of gravitation,

is the law with which all forces are necessarily diverged through a gaseous or fluid medium; that mutual action and re-action, under that law, are the competent causes of the motions of the planets; that the motion of bodies, towards the centre of the earth, is a local effect of subordination to the great terrestrial motions; and, consequently, that the entire doctrine of universal gravitation, with its whimsical projectile force, and its monstrous vacuum in space, is an airy dream of speculative philosophers.

LXXVI.

Remember that, whatever is the patient of the regular motions of the universe, is the patient of unalterable necessity; but, whenever motions are modified by new centres, turned into new directions, and have a fulcrum of variable power, they cease to be continuities of the general motions of the universe. Such is the mind or brain, or intellectual fulcrum of an animal. It sees and feels motions as on one side of a lever, but these motions are modified on the other side by the fulcrum of self-love, by experience, by error, by truth, and all the passions, and these determine the

result; and, therefore, with reference to the deciding animal, are free. The senses and perceptions, in truth, confer choice on the animal, and qualify it to be free, by reasoning not always perfect, and therefore not necessary.

LXXVII.

Remember that the pernicious doctrine of fatality, in regard to human and animal life, arises from three mistakes:—one, a confounding of phenomena, which result from the successive transfers of eternal motion from one passive body to another, with phenomena which arise from motions that are deflected, divided, and newly applied by the concentrated powers of animal microcosms, or the fulcra of their judgments, which direct special results, dependent on the knowledge and caprice of the animal;—two, a confounding of the simple fact, that an event which has happened necessarily but in one way, with a supposed possibility that it might, at the same time, have happened also in some other way, or have been two or more events instead of one;—and three, that all the causes exist for the sake of a remote result, instead of a result being a sim-

ple and indifferent consequence of the causes which themselves cease to be a chain the moment they are directed and operated upon by variable animal judgments, which are new centres of power derived from the cross action, so to speak, of other diverse powers.

LXXVIII.

Remember that judgment is the only criterion of truth; hence men, who exercise their judging part, are esteemed wise; and those, who do not do so, are properly accounted fools: the two classes, in regard to the use of the brain, are exactly what industrious and idle men are in regard to the use of the limbs and body; and, in general, there is an accordance between the internal and external phænomena.

LXXIX.

Remember that, as men cannot always be forming judgments, more than they can always while awake be industriously employed, so brains, the most employed in judging, have their idle times, and hence the wisest men have what are called their weak sides, and avenues through them open to vice, and to the

seductions of superstition and folly, which tempt them, and all men, in so many attractive and delusive forms.

LXXX.

Remember that the organs of the brain seem to be divisible into those of perception, and those of reminiscence, both being connected with judgment or with the faculty of reasoning, from one fact to another, and possessed in different degrees by men, and in some degree by all animals, as is evident from their progressive improvement, and the cunning of experience.

LXXXI.

Remember that the brain when not at rest, or asleep, is in continued action like the body; and hence, when not called into special action, has its loose, wild, or rambling excitements; and these constitute, in their phenomena, what is called the fancy, the involuntary, dreaming, and poetical powers.

LXXXII.

Remember that the preponderance of these separate modes of brain-action constitutes all

the differences of individuals; that in some, the judgment is constantly exerted, and in others seldom; but, as the brain is, notwithstanding, in action while awake, so the characteristic results of the latter are, levity of conduct, wildness of imagination, and easy credulity unopposed by energy of judgment.

LXXXIII.

Remember that it is indifferent how the powers of animal judgments were originated, whether as powers *per se*, or as powers generated by previous actions and re-actions, parts of eternal motions; it being sufficient to this point, that the powers thus concentrated have individual varieties, and are capable of newly directing those eternal motions of which passive and uneducated matter is the mere patient. In truth, the animal senses confer on them powers of choice, or they would be utterly useless; and this simple choice, much exercised, becomes judgment, which judgment directs external things, and decides the fortune of the animal, right or wrong, according to its varied experience, discipline, and knowledge. The will is governed by the judgment; but the judgment itself is variable,

and dependent on degrees of knowledge, from 0 up to infinity, and therefore not necessary. Hence man is free in a world of inanimate physical necessity.

LXXXIV.

Remember that all prophecy is but a balance of probabilities depending on the experience, reasoning, and foresight, of the individual; and, when otherwise, unless corroborated by alleged miraculous powers, is imposture, fanaticism, or madness; and that all the various means of foretelling events, by which men have deluded themselves and others by a believed connexion of variable systems of bodies with future events, have been rendered plausible by the unsuspected fact, that there is an arithmetical chance that any number of probable events, any how indicated, will necessarily come to pass; and, as prophecies depend merely on this general principle, so there is not any necessary connexion between the indices and the events; consequently, it does not signify whether the indices are planets or cards, the cackling or the entrails of birds, the sediments of tea-cups or marbles knocked against a wall, the dreams of imper-

fect sleep, or the lines of the hand and forehead.

LXXXV.

Remember that the new philosophy does not affect to explain every thing, nor that its explications are always perfect; it merely asserts the general principle, that *the universal material cause is always matter in motion;* and then it applies this principle to details, in which it may be sometimes right, or sometimes wrong: but these errors in the application do not affect the fundamental principle, nor justify theories founded on other and erroneous general principles, a sophism often used by the feeble and captious advocates of the antiquated and obsolete theories.

LXXXVI.

Remember that the new philosophy opposes the two-fold motion of the earth, as the true cause of the fall of all its parts towards the centre of motion, to the unexplained doctrine of terrestrial attraction; that it opposes the law of propagated force, through a fluid or gaseous medium, to the law of assumed

universal gravitation; that it opposes the effect of action and re-action to the joint actions of the assumed gravitation, and the assumed projectile force; that it opposes the universal existence of gas, in the celestial spaces, to the alleged vacuum; that it opposes the motions of atoms to the alleged existence of a principle of heat, called caloric; that it opposes the motions of atoms to the alleged principle of chemical action; that it opposes the disturbance of the harmonious or natural relations of atoms, to the existence of fluids *per se*, as those of electricity, &c. &c.; that it opposes the proximate mechanical causes of every variety of union, or separation of bodies or atoms, to the assumed action of any powers of attraction, repulsion, &c.; that it opposes the regular and harmonious rotations of atoms of gases to their alleged repulsions; that it opposes the imparting of their motions to the doctrine of the parting with caloric; that it opposes the appropriation of their motions by respiration to the multifarious doctrines about animal heat and the energy of life; and, in fine, that it opposes some matter in some motion to all the special names of causes, invented to cover igno-

rance, while they deceive the superficial, and serve to mystify and perplex enquiry.

LXXXVII.

Remember all these propositions; weigh, examine, extend, and apply them, and they will serve as antidotes to the antiquated superstitions, gratuitous assumptions, absurd mystifications, and dogmatical assertions, relative to powers *per se*, qualities *per se*, and fluids *sui generis*, with which books of all kinds are encumbered, by which knowledge is disgraced, and the discriminating powers of the human intellect insulted and debased.

GOLDEN RULES FOR ELECTORS.

I.

By the spirit of the British constitution, the House of Commons is designed to represent the people, express their voice, and support their interests, in making laws, in controling ministers, and in levying taxes: consequently, its members ought to be freely and fairly elected, and to be independent of the other estates of parliament, of the king's ministers, and of the produce of the taxes; or they cease, for their important constitutional purposes, to be genuine representatives of the people.

II.

The property, liberty, happiness, and life, of every one of the British people, depending essentially and substantially on the incorruptibility, independence, and public spirit, of their representatives,—every elector is bound to scru-

tinize the character and pretensions of all persons who offer themselves as delegates, to express his voice, and support his interests, in the parliament of the nation.

III.

As guardians of the public purse, it is evident that members of the House of Commons should possess at least the ordinary qualifications of upright stewards, and should not appropriate to their own benefit those national resources with the control of which they are entrusted; nor in any manner identify themselves with the servants of the state, whose expenditure and measures they are appointed to examine and restrain.

IV.

As guardians of the rights of the people against encroachments of the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the nobility, and as conservators of public liberty, it is evident that members of the House of Commons should not consist either of servants of the crown, or of mere dependents of the nobility.

V.

As controllers of the political measures of the state, it is evident, that the members of the House of Commons ought to possess unquestionable integrity and undaunted public spirit; and, as co-legislators, ought to be men of liberal education, mature age, and practical experience.

VI.

Of course it depends, in all cases, on the independence, intelligence, and energy, of electors, whoever they may be, whether the persons whom they choose to represent them are worthy or unworthy, are competent or incompetent, or are traitors or friends to the rights, privileges, and interests, of the people.

*** That freeholders, burgesses, and householders, according as the right of election exists, may not have their right nullified by improper persons, it should be understood that the following classes of persons are disqualified from voting, viz. minors, aliens born, persons deaf, dumb, and blind, idiots and lunatics, peers, papists, outlaws, convicted felons, persons convicted of bribery, perjury, or subornation, persons receiving alms, custom-house and excise officers, distributors of stamps, certain collectors of taxes, and persons connected with the Post-office.

VII.

It should never be lost sight of by the electors, and by the connexions of electors, that, at the hustings, every elector takes, or is required by law to take, the following solemn oath:—*I swear that I have not received, or had, by myself or any person whatsoever for me, or for my use or benefit, directly or indirectly, any sum or sums of money, office, place, or employment, gift, or reward, or any promise or security for any money, office, employment, or gift, in order to give my vote at this election;*"—a form of words which will check all who respect the obligations of religion, and fear the penalties of perjury, and which therefore ought, on no pretence, to be dispensed with at any election.

VIII.

But, if the perpetration of the crime of perjury serve as no check on the conscience of an unprincipled elector, it should be known, that to give, to offer, or to accept, any bribe, or the promise of any bribe, in any direct or indirect manner, is held by law to be a crime which subjects the convicted party to infamous disa-

bilities, and renders him liable to heavy fines and imprisonments.

*** In the year 1819, Sir Manasseh Lopez, for bribery, through his agent at Grampound, was sentenced to twenty-one months' imprisonment in Exeter gaol, and to pay a fine of 10,000*l.*; and in the same term, Henry Swann, esq. for bribery at Penrhyn, was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in the King's bench, and to pay a fine of 1000*l.* In 1804, Messrs. Davison, Parsons, and Hopping, were convicted of bribery at Ilchester, and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment in the King's-bench. Hundreds of similar instances of this crime, and its punishment, might be adduced; but the notice of these cases may have the salutary effect desired.

IX.

In like manner, any threat or intimidation, with a view to influence an elector in the conscientious discharge of his duty, is held in law to be equivalent in criminality to an actual bribe; and the infliction of an injury on an elector, in resentment of his conscientious vote, vitiates the return, and is punishable by law as a high crime and misdemeanour.

*** Thus any act of a candidate, tending unduly to influence a return, subjects the party, by 43 Geo. III. c. 18. to the penalty of 1000*l.*; and the elector submitting to such influence is liable to a penalty of 500*l.*, to be recovered by any person who shall sue for the same,

besides rendering the party giving or receiving, or knowing of any such gift or promise, incapable of sitting in that parliament; and rendering the party who may have received any office or employment, incapable of holding the same.

X.

As the liberties of the people, and the prosperity of the nation, depend so intimately on the integrity and independence of electors, a corrupt or parasite vote is by consequence an act of social treason to the country, and a crime against every citizen, which it is the duty of all to expose and endeavour to punish.

XI.

To inform becomes meritorious when such great public interests are in danger of being compromised; and the public-spirited citizen, who is the means of exposing and punishing bribery at an election, is therefore well entitled to receive the legal penalty of FIVE HUNDRED POUNDS, and also the thanks of his co-electors and country.

XII.

Those electors who sell their votes for money, or barter them for any private benefit; or who permit a candidate to defray heavy incidental expences during his election, must

expect to repay in taxes the price of their corruption, neglect, or venality. Having been bought, or having suffered their representative to involve himself in heavy costs, they must expect to be re-sold with a profit, and that he will in some manner indemnify himself; for no wise man would expend his private fortune in procuring a return to parliament, but with an intention of repaying himself by court favours, by patronage, or other sinister advantages.

XIII.

It is the duty of public-spirited electors to enter into subscriptions for the purpose of defraying the incidental expences of conveying electors to the poll, printing advertisements, &c.; and unless they would borrow on worse terms than spendthrifts borrow of usurers, they will never permit a candidate to involve himself in expences which he would be justified in taking from the public treasury. In truth, a candidate who is forward in lavishing his private fortune for the onerous duty of serving his constituents in the House of Commons, may always be reasonably suspected of covert designs. The only security is, to return men of known probity, free of expence.

XIV.

Corrupt electors in returning unprincipled members not only injure themselves, but become the means by which knaves are enabled to deprive their fellow-subjects of their property, their happiness, and their liberties; the men, therefore, who sell or barter their votes at an election for their proportionate share of the 8000*l.* which is said to be the market price of two seats, are public scoundrels, and ought to be held more infamous than culprits guilty of any species of private felony.

XV.

The power of excluding all improper and equivocal characters from parliament being in the hands of electors, a due respect to their own honour, integrity, and wisdom, ought to prompt every separate body of them to be careful that they are represented in the great council of the nation by men who will not disgrace their choice, or render nugatory the virtuous exertions of other representatives.

XVI.

Every elector before he votes should examine himself in the following points:—Whether he

entertains a disinterested and dispassionate belief that his favourite candidate is the most deserving of the candidates? Whether he has no other motive for his preference than such conviction? Whether he has no lurking self-interest which he purposes to serve? And whether his vote is given as uprightly and scrupulously as that of the candidate ought to be, while performing his duties in parliament: for such as are the represented, such is likely to be the representative.

XVII.

An honest elector will have no reason to doubt in his choice, if the candidate having already sat in parliament has rendered known benefits to the community,—if he has opposed wars entered into for sinister purposes, or to gratify bad passions,—if he has steadily upheld the rights and liberties of the people,—if he has supported justice in transactions with foreign nations,—if he has resisted oppressive taxes,—if he has voted for the reform of notorious abuses,—and if he has assisted in impeaching mal-administration wherever it may have appeared to exist.

XVIII.

Public principle, and an accurate discrimination in regard to the merits of public pretensions of the candidate, ought to direct every voter; and every departure from principle on the part of any one elector, resulting either from undue influence, personal partiality, or the cajolery of the candidates or their friends, is highly dangerous to the cause which an honest elector hopes to see successful.

XIX.

No sensible elector, who desires to be considered as a man of integrity and principle, will on any account compromise his just cause by splitting his vote with an opponent; a conduct which, under the most favourable circumstances, neutralizes or nullifies his voice, and often, owing to the management of the election, gives a numerical majority of votes over a real majority of honest electors.

*** For example, if there are two thousand honest electors, and only two hundred corrupt ones, and the former should be so weak or inconsiderate as to split their votes with an unworthy party, they will thereby place that party at the head of the poll, by adding their 2000 to his 200, and become thereby the means of defeating themselves.

XX.

Any elector who splits his votes with an adverse faction, ought by his own friends to be treated as a *felo-de-se*, for he thereby not merely commits suicide on his own political existence, but superadds the criminal responsibility of aiding the other party against his own friends. If he do this without consideration, he ought to be held up to public scorn as a fool; but, if he persist after warning, then he ought to be treated as a knave, and as a traitor to his cause.

XXI.

The cardinal rule is to vote on principle. If there is only one worthy candidate, give him a plumper; and, if two, vote for both. But do not let any elector, under the silly, weak, or crafty, pretence of using all his votes, give one for each party, such conduct being the sure means of nullifying his own interest, while it often leads to the ascendancy of a well-trained band of corrupt electors.

*** It would be a great improvement in the system of elections, if every body of electors chose but one candidate. In that case they could not be played off against each other as they now are, by being cajoled out of their spare vote for unworthy candidates. In the city of Lon-

don every elector has four votes, and hence the absurdity of the results of contests among the best-informed body of electors in the empire. Every liveryman thinks he best uses his power by splitting his votes among the candidates; hence it often happens that the most puny-minded or unprincipled candidates are returned to parliament, in preference to men of eminent virtue and talents. The independent livery of London give perhaps two votes on principle, and then nullify these by splitting their two other votes with stupid or plausible candidates in an adverse interest.

XXII.

Every honest elector should withhold his support from a late member, if his voice has never been heard in Parliament in defence of any popular interest, of public justice, or of public liberty; if his silent votes have served only to swell ministerial majorities; and if his present recommendations are his influence with the minister, his official employments, or his improving fortunes at court: under such circumstances, the candidate should be considered as a wolf in sheep's clothing, and as wholly unfit to represent honest electors in their house of parliament.

XXIII.

It should be considered by electors, that lawyers are generally unfit from their views of

professional interest to be entrusted with the powers of representatives; that as servants and administrators of the laws, they are, as law-makers, prejudiced and interested; and that, as they are accustomed to plead in any cause for hire, so they frequently become pliable instruments of the minister, and greatly augment the mischiefs of corruption, by their ready sophistry and assiduous application.

XXIV.

Contractors, speculators, and money-jobbers, whose god is gold, are always incapable of serving their country in Parliament, their sole object being to sell themselves to the minister for any profitable job or bargain.

XXV.

Young men who are devoid of experience, and too commonly the slaves of their passions, (however wealthy, however showy their talents, or however powerfully connected,) are unfit to perform the onerous duties of Legislators, and ought seldom to be supported by discreet and patriotic electors, in preference to unexceptionable candidates of greater experience.

XXVI.

The profligate in private life, and the desperate in pecuniary circumstances, are as unable as they are unlikely, to resist the overtures of any ambitious faction in Parliament, or the insidious and overwhelming corruption of the ministers of the Crown, and ought therefore never to be entrusted with the representative functions.

XXVII.

Solemn orders of the House of Commons declare it to be "a high infringement of the liberties and privileges of the Commons, for any lord of Parliament, or lord lieutenant of any county, to concern himself in the election of members of Parliament;" while on the part of electors, except in extraordinary instances of unequivocal patriotism, it is an act of political suicide to return the palpable dependent of any Peer of Parliament, or to elect the heirs of noble houses, thereby converting the House of Commons into a mere seminary of education for the junior nobility.

XXVIII.

Those candidates whom independent electors are bound to put in nomination, and to

return free of expence, are tried men, whose principles have resisted, in former parliaments, the temptations of power; or worthy and independent neighbours, whether land-proprietors, merchants, bankers, or manufacturers, whose liberal principles, public spirit, and political independence, are known to the electors; and, other circumstances being alike, a candidate whose talents and energies have raised him to distinction, ought to be preferred to a wealthy heir, who, seldom having had occasion to think for himself, is incapable of thinking with advantage for the public.

XXIX.

As it is one of the most valuable privileges of Britons, to exercise their elective franchises at the return of every new Parliament, or as often as any vacancy occurs, it is the duty of all intelligent electors, to resent every attempt to deprive them of their power of choosing, by base compromises under the crafty unconstitutional pretext of preserving the peace of the place. Every new candidate, therefore, who affords electors an opportunity of exercising their constitutional rights, ought to have his pretensions viewed with favour, and

to be preferred to any other candidate, who, by compromising with an adverse interest, has sought to nullify the rights of the electors.

XXX.

No dependent of the crown or the minister, whatever be his general reputation, ought to be considered by independent electors, as entitled to their preference over less equivocal candidates; and all bodies of electors should be on their guard against appeals to their feelings and interests, made by successful military and naval commanders, by specious lawyers, wealthy contractors, or powerful placemen, none of whom ought to be suffered to enjoy the opportunity of bartering their votes in parliament, in exchange for their personal aggrandizement or pecuniary advantage.

*** And as certain persons are by the constitution considered ineligible to sit in Parliament, so other persons dependent on the Crown, are considered culpable in interfering with the duties of Electors. Thus persons connected with the Excise and the Post-office are forbidden, in any manner whatsoever, to interfere in any election, under penalty of 100*l.* and incapacity to continue in office; and it is declared highly criminal for any servant of the crown to use the powers of his office to

influence any elector in giving his vote; and with the same jealous feeling, soldiers must be removed to a distance of two or three miles from the place of election, under penalty on the Secretary at War.

XXXI.

In regard to placemen, pensioners, and dependents of the crown, generally, it should never be forgotten, that the solemn compact between the reigning dynasty and the nation has provided in express terms, "*That no person who has an office, or place of profit under the King, or who receives a pension from the Crown, shall be capable of serving as a Member of the House of Commons;*" and although this bulwark of liberty has been dispensed with by the forms of a subsequent act of parliament, and re-election is now considered by the House of Commons as a means of qualifying the disqualified, yet it should be understood that no law can compel the people themselves to violate the Constitution; consequently the re-election of Placemen lies entirely in their own discretion, and they are still, in this important point, the uncontrolled and competent guardians of their own rights.

GOLDEN RULES FOR DISCRIMINATING TRUTH IN HUMAN ENQUIRIES.

I.

It is not difficult to analyse the causes of the ascendency of error among societies of men; but to expose errors is dangerous, because, being engendered by deep-rooted prejudices of education, and forstered by self-interest, they are maintained by active and vindictive passions. An experienced philosopher expressed his apprehension of those passions and prejudices when he declared, that, if his hand were full of Truths, he would not open it! Such an imperfect being is man—that truth must always be exhibited in a way calculated to humour, and not to oppose, his prejudices,—or those who are hardy enough to maintain it, must run the chance of being sacrificed to their temerity.

II.

"Are there in Sodom five righteous men?—Are there in Israel fifty who are worthy to be saved?"—Lives there in Britain one in twelve whom it is useful to address in the language of truth?—In other words, can a votary of truth, with no other protection than the native fascinations of the goddess, make an appeal, at present, to many tribunals in England, and escape vindictive accusations of ignorance, or prejudice?

III.

Are there, at this day, to be found in England, among twelve men indifferently taken, more than one or two who will uphold Truth against the blandishments of sophistry, falsehood, and corruption? In fine, are not many great truths as obnoxious, at this day in England, as truth ever was in any country in the world?—Might not any obstinate stickler for truth meet with martyrdom in England, as certainly as did the prophets and Jesus Christ among the jews, as the apostles among the gentiles, or as the great protestant reformers in catholic christendom?

IV.

The imperfect power of human reason, and the pressure of physical wants, deprive savages, and those who pursue the manual occupations in civilized society, of the opportunity and habit of examining the true relations of effects, and their connexions and causes. Savages are employed only in providing for their wants, and for the indulgence of their passions; and any speculations on nature, or on cause and effect, are to them but occasional scintillations; and, being unrecorded, they are, when expressed, incapable of being examined, though in due time these crude notions grow up in the improving community as standard knowledge.

V.

Education and improvement may afterwards emancipate a few individuals from rude and imperfect notions; but, as those notions are fitted for such minds as those who first invented them; and, as generations run into one another, and are dovetailed together, so the first crude notions of their savage stage pervade all civilized nations in spite of the knowledge and truth attained by many individuals.

VI.

The errors of inbred prejudices, generated in the savage state, and perpetuated among the labouring and non-intellectual classes through subsequent ages, are played upon by craft, and turned to their own advantages by classes who contrive to subsist on them, or make them the instruments of their ambition and assumed authority. Craft and power become therefore closely allied with the muscular strength of a country against truth and intellectual originality.

VII.

The radical errors of savages consist in mistaking causes,—in considering dreams as inspirations,—in considering medicines as charms, and charms as medicines,—in considering their personal good as the special act of some kind genius, and their personal evils as the act of some malevolent genius; in yielding their judgments to such hasty faith; and in implanting such faith in their children; till by accumulation and acceleration the whole becomes a system, and an integral part of the minds of themselves and their successors.

VIII.

These errors do not consist of one practice more than another: as whether a reptile is adored as the fetisch of a nation; or a monstrous idol as its protector; or an unsculptured god clothed with human sentiments, caprices, and passions; or whether stars, or gods and goddesses, or luck and ill-luck, or fate and destiny, or charms and miracles, or incantations and invocations; or whether attraction, repulsion, universal gravitation, or chemical action, govern the world: the principle of erroneous superstition is the same whenever a cause of a material effect is assumed which is not material, connected, commensurate, and mechanical.

IX.

A dream has no mechanical connexion with the things of which it is the alleged sign,—a charm has no mechanical connexion with the things over which it is assumed to have power,—two bodies said to attract or repel one another, have no mutual force in the directions in which it is pretended they act. African fetisches, or oriental idols, have no mechanical connexion with the things which they are

said to influence,—witchery or enchantment, the planets, the entrails of animals, sacred omens, chemical action, and sediments of tea-cups, have no mechanical energy, or commensurate connexion with their pretended effects,—and, therefore, are superstitious absurdities, whether they bear the stamp of science, religion, philosophy, or antiquity.

X.

We may not know, and we may never know, all that is true, and all that we may desire to know, because our knowledge is limited by our local position, our senses, and the instruments for improving them; but we possess clear tests in regard to what is not true, by knowing that all force or power is matter in velocity, and that no power can apply which is not in continuity with the effect, and in the same direction; and we become acquainted with an eternal and immutable relation of power, in knowing that action and re-action are always equal: these, therefore, are the indubitable and universal tests of all superstitions.

XI.

The crafts which profit by superstition have secured themselves in all countries by a

close alliance with power; but they contrive also to ally themselves with nominal wisdom and philosophy, and these have been perverted in aid of their enemies. For many ages an open war subsisted, and philosophers were exiled, persecuted, and put to death; but, as truth is nurtured by the blood of martyrs, so at length it was found more easy to ally pretended philosophers and philosophy with superstition; and mankind and truth have now to contend, in consequence, with a triple-headed monster in superstition, power, and pseudo-philosophy.

XII.

Self-interest shifts the question, and it is pretended that truth and morals could not subsist together,—that falsehood is necessary to morals,—that the fears of supposed good and evil genii are more operative than the social rewards of virtue, and the legal punishment of crimes; and, by the force of such sophisms, benevolence makes enquiry slumber, and truth becomes a barren speculation.

XIII.

A fair experiment never has been made, and perhaps never can be made, of a people

existing without the influence of superstition. Rewards of virtue can never, perhaps, be fairly bestowed, in a world governed by human passions, by envy and intrigue; and codes of laws can never, perhaps, be contrived, which shall discriminate shades of crime, and reach even the consciences of men. Superstition may therefore be useful, and be wisely tolerated; but, at the same time, truth is truth, and ought never to be abashed or persecuted by policy founded on convenience, though it ought to be always set forth with prudence and modesty.

XIV.

Prejudices and errors are maintained by THE CRAFT OF AUTHORSHIP AND BOOKMAKING; for, as prejudices and errors are felt and cherished by the multitude, so those books which flatter and sustain them always find the greatest number of purchasers, and yield the greatest profit. A sordid calculation leads, therefore, to the production of one thousand books in support of prejudices for one which opposes them; while, as the sale of the former is also ten times greater than the latter, so, from this cause alone, the odds are always TEN THOUSAND TO ONE against the progress of truth.

XV.

CLOSE CORPORATIONS always favour errors and prejudices, because these infect the majority whom every member flatters; and because the majority will never admit a new member who has not qualified himself by the unction of flattery, and displayed a complying spirit of subordination and servility.

XVI.

INSTITUTIONS and ENDOWMENTS are necessarily adverse to all improvement, because they are formed on a standard of faith and practice fixed by the statutes, or if not so fixed, their faith and practice are maintained by the mutual reserves of the members, by affectations of attachment to established opinions, or by the fears which every individual feels in regard to the prejudices of his superiors and colleagues.

XVII.

The force of education and habit opposes almost insuperable barriers to the progress of truth. They are equivalent in man to what his vanity calls the instincts of animals. They are, in fact, the instincts of man as displayed

in his various religions, customs, languages, and pursuits in different nations. They multiply the chances against truth another TEN THOUSAND TIMES; and, indeed, all reasoning is so subservient to them, that there are very few truths dependent on reason, in which all nations are agreed.

XVIII.

Taking then the obstacles of close corporations and institutions as opposing a hundred chances against truth, the sum of all the chances are 10,000 × 10,000 × 100, against the recognition of any truth dependent on the free exertion of human reason, or TEN THOUSAND MILLIONS to one!

XIX.

Granting that mankind progressively improve, and numbering the human race at one thousand millions, there seems no chance that any additional truth will be established oftener than once in ten generations, or in 300 years. On these data we might, if we could agree on the number of general truths which human reason has established, determine the age of the world; but, if we adopt the received

chronology, and take the human race to be 6000 years old, we shall find that mankind have not yet determined more than TWENTY TRUTHS! Many will think even this number an exaggeration, while others will consider it a libel on humanity. It would be pleasant to see the two parties in the field, and to obtain, by examination and comparison, a correct list of the whole, on which they agree, whether twenty, or more, or less!

XX.

All doctrines of causation are absurd and superstitious, when there is no possible or mechanical connexion between the cause assumed and the effect produced; for our perceptions take cognizance only of matter, and its actions and re-actions, always subject to mechanical laws.

XXI.

Thus it is absurd and superstitious to assert, that a rod or wand can, by its touch, transform one substance into another, because there is no operation on the substance by such means by which it can be so converted.

XXII.

It is absurd and superstitious to say, that any one prophesied a future event as an act of positive foreknowledge independent of the law of probabilities founded on experience, because there is no connexion between the mind of the prophesier and the events.

XXIII.

It is absurd and superstitious to allege that there are lucky seats in gaming, because there is no connexion between the seats and the accidents of the cards or dice.

XXIV.

It is absurd and superstitious to ascribe the power of foretelling to dreams, or planets, or sediments of tea-cups, or entrails of animals; because there is no connexion between the the same and the events with which they are said to be coincident.

XXV.

It is absurd and superstitious to say, that one body attracts another; for, in that case, the body attracting must push the body

attracted on the opposite side, where it is not present corporally, much less potentially.

XXVI.

It is absurd and superstitious to ascribe cures to touching, or diseases to witchcraft, because the substance in neither case is changed by the touch of the healer or the witch.

XXVII.

It is absurd and superstitious to say, that two bodies repel one another, because, at the time, the force or motion of each is directed oppositely to that in which the propelling force is required. But, whenever any of these circumstances are matters of fact, the causes are not of the absurd and superstitious kind assumed, but may, and ought to be, sought in competent proximate operations, which accord with the laws of arithmetic, motion, and mechanics, and which it is the business of reason and philosophy to examine and explain.

XXVIII.

It is absurd and superstitious to believe in the appearance or noises of ghosts and pre-

tended spirits of the dead; for nothing but what is material can be an object of sense, or can act so as to affect light or sound; all such appearances, as matter of fact, must therefore be referred to illusions of the mind, or to disordered or mistaken affections of the sense, assisted by implicit faith in the possibility of the phantom.

XXIX.

It is absurd and superstitious to attach any luck or ill-luck to days of the month, for days are but similar revolutions of the earth in circles of space, which never return to the same point, and which are perfectly indifferent to actions of men, and the contingency of their unconnected fortunes.

XXX.

It is absurd and superstitious to consider events unconnected, as signs or omens of each other's occurring, or considering events as governed by any coincidences with other events, when there is no mechanical connexion, as cause and effect, and often no connexion, either in kind or species.

XXXI.

It is absurd and superstitious to ascribe to atoms any identical sympathy, or affinity for each other, except with reference to their fitting forms, or some external and distant action on them mechanically calculated to produce the effect.

XXXII.

It is absurd and superstitious to conceive that there is a predetermined fate and necessity in the events of animal life—for all events are consequences of causes, and must, therefore, follow the causes, not go before them, which is implied by fate and necessity; while the causes themselves of events in animal life are choosing in subservience to the senses, whose sole purpose it is to confer the power of choice, and raise the animal above a physical patient; or the judging from knowledge and experience, always variable, often erring, and never certain, and the consequence cannot, therefore, be more certain than the cause. The only fate or necessity, relative to animal life, consists in this: that something will happen as a consequence of every train of operative causes; but the species and variety

of that something is not predetermined, but a result of the intervening choice of sense and varying judgment.

XXXIII.

England, with almost the single exception of the United States of America, is the freest and most enlightened country in the world! In England there yet remains some scope for truth! In an unrestrained press, she has here a stage on which to play a part; and she is not wholly fettered, banished, or strangled, as in many countries. Truth may still, therefore, solicit votaries in these islands, provided she deport herself with prudence and modesty!

XXXIV.

Truth, without adulation, admits that the English are a great people; but declares that they have risen to greatness by means of commerce, like the Tyrians, the Carthaginians, the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Dutch; that those nations have fallen one after another, and that the English are in danger of falling also, from the operation of similar causes.

XXXV.

Truth tells us that all those fallen people were corrupted by the influx of foreign wealth; were intoxicated by foreign power; and were, finally, ambitious of universal dominion.

XXXVI.

Truth informs us that their wealth enabled them to intrigue in the councils of foreign princes; that they sought to direct the governments of the whole world; and that they were constantly meddling in the quarrels of their neighbours.

XXXVII.

Truth declares that, to serve the sinister purposes of their commerce, they stirred up wars among other nations; and considered that their welfare was best promoted by the strifes and calamities of all other people.

XXXVIII.

Truth tells us that, in consequence of their overgrown wealth, inordinate ambition, and jealous policy, they were first envied, then feared, and, finally, hated and opposed, by the whole world.

XXXIX.

Truth records that, to maintain their ascendency and pretensions, it became necessary to augment their fleets and armies; and to carry on wars against the nations which previously had been their customers, and the means of their aggrandisement.

XL.

Truth warns us that their acquired wealth was soon dissipated in the maintenance of fleets and armies in foreign countries; that such drains were not re-supplied by balances of trade as formerly; that credit was soon substituted for wealth; that paper, or alloyed money, took the place of the precious metals; and that the solid basis of public prosperity, founded on industry and balances of trade, gave way to temporizing projects and artifices.

XLI.

Truth records that, in those countries, as the pride of the government increased, the miseries and oppressions of the people accumulated; and that, as the exigencies of the

state augmented, pretexts became necessary for diminishing the liberties of the people.

XLII.

Truth tells us that, as the necessities of the people accumulated with the public distresses, so individuals became more willing to sell themselves to the government, and to assist in oppressing and enslaving their independent and less crafty fellow citizens.

XLIII.

Truth records that, during the internal and external contentions of those people, the energetic, industrious, and useful part of the community, emigrated to exercise their talents and experience in foreign countries, thereby transferring to them the foundation of their native country's greatness.

XLIV.

Truth illustrates that, in the climax of their national misfortunes, all the fences and securities of civil liberty were destroyed one after another, so that public freedom, public spirit, public glory, private credit, public prosperity, and often national independence, were extinguished together!

XLV.

Truth reminds us that Tyre fell a victim to its meddling policy,—Carthage to its ambition,—Venice to the tyranny of its government,—Genoa to foreign wars,—and Holland to the corruptions consequent on overgrown wealth.

XLVI.

Truth admits that our geographical position and territorial circumstances are more advantageous than the territory and position of those people; and that the prolongation of our national independence rests less than theirs on extraneous circumstances and warlike atchievements.

XLVII.

Truth tells us, however, that all the prosperity, wealth, and power, which arise from foreign commerce, are subject to *common laws;* and that in these respects, without increased caution and wisdom, we are doomed to follow the fate of other great commercial powers, and sink to the average rank prescribed by our territory and population.

XLVIII.

Truth proclaims, that the commerce and power of the British islands arise out of their insular security, their commanding geographical position, their political liberty, their staple commodities, and the characteristic energy, confidence, and industry, of their inhabitants, all existing antecedently to their present ascendency, or growing with it.

XLIX.

Truth declares that, as the ascendency of the British empire has arisen from the gradual and unpremeditated operation of natural and inherent causes, those efficient causes are adequate to sustain the ascendency which they have conferred, without the hazard of wars to assert abstract powers and commercial rights, which did not originally tend to raise the country to its present eminence.

L.

Truth instructs us, by a never-failing experience, that wars are alien to the prosperity, and dangerous to the very existence, of those nations whose strength is founded on their commerce; and that public distress is unfa-

vourable to public spirit, and fatal to the energies of public liberty and private happiness.

LI.

Truth tells us that, without liberty, there is no security for person and property; and that, without security of person and property, and reciprocal confidence, the soul of commerce can never exist in any country.

LII.

Truth reminds us that, in Britain, the security of public liberty depends on the free and independent representation of the people in the legislature; and that the security of personal liberty and property depends on the unbiassed convention and full powers of juries.

LIII.

Truth declares that public liberty and personal security must be lost to the people of England whenever any considerable part of the House of Commons is nominated by the minister of the day, and becomes identified with the executive government.

LIV.

Truth, then, suggests it as our duty to hold sacred those bulwarks of our freedom as the bases of your public prosperity; to treat as public enemies those who dare to impair them; and to despise, as unnatural sycophants of power, those who decry our unremitting and zealous exertions to maintain them.

LV.

Truth, in like manner, calls our attention to the confusion and uncertainty of our laws, which have been the growth of a thousand years, of bad as well as good times, and of ages of superstition, ignorance, and despotism, as well as of epochs of liberty; and it tells us that our entire legal system demands a radical reform and regeneration.

LVI.

Truth teaches us, that the liberty and glory of a country must be utterly destroyed, if, after the great barriers of liberty are undermined, slavery is made palatable by the corruptions and subjugation of the public press, thereby reconciling the people to their chains,

holding up truth and virtue to the scorn of ignorance and credulity, and hunting down and persecuting all the honest exertions of struggling patriotism.

LVII.

Truth likens the operations of our government, subject to the incumbrances of an enormous public debt, to those of a trader who has issued a large amount of accommodation bills. The progress of both is similar, —is attended by similar difficulties,—and, unless such anticipations of means are liquidated by timely sacrifices, they are, in both cases, likely to be followed by similar effects.

LVIII.

Truth calls our attention to the principle, that, as taxes on the people cause the people to indemnify themselves upon each other, so it is impracticable that great public debts can be overtaken by any fund growing out of taxes, because the taxes which generate the fund, augment the expenditure of the government in a higher ratio.

LIX.

Truth proclaims the precarious pursuit and dependent character of commerce in any

country where the possession of currency depends more on intrigue, sycophancy, and factitious credit, than on real trade and capital. It tells us that, in such a country, speculators overwhelm capitalists, that merchants become the humble tools of power, and that the spirit of trade and honourable enterprize must soon be destroyed.

LX.

Truth tells us that our sure means of defence and offence, lie in our great and invincible *navy;* that a mistaken policy and false notions of glory stimulate our ministers to emulate the military establishments of the great continental powers; and that our condition under such policy, is that of the frog of Esop, attempting to swell himself to the size of the ox.

LXI.

Truth reminds us of the primary objects and principles of colonization; and teaches us to seek no other colonies than islands whose dependence and produce we can secure by means of our invincible navy.

LXII.

Truth tells us that, as the most powerful of free people, we ought every where to sustain public liberty; and, in all our alliances and foreign connexions, ought never to support despotism against the exertions of the people to assert or recover their civil liberties.

LXIII.

Truth quotes the example of all history to prove that, to maintain our national independence, it is necessary to husband our resources, and to consider our agriculture and manufactures as the primary sources of our public welfare and power.

LXIV.

Truth declares that no great nation can ever be conquered till its resources have been drained and exhausted by the long continuance of wars; and that the strength which results from the prosperity, confidence, and credit, of a state of peace, is the only perfect security which any country can acquire.

LXV.

Truth asserts that one country has no right to meddle with or disturb the government

established in another; it recognizes the peaceful authority of the Chinese and Japanese, to restrict and forbid intercourse with foreign nations; it legitimatizes the alliance of free states with the tyrants of Algiers and Morocco; and it denies the justice or necessity of wars founded on changes of other governments or dynasties.

LXVI.

Truth solemnly declares that, if wicked and corrupt ministers of a free people, at any time, involve those people in foreign wars, with no justifiable object; such free people, so abused, are not bound to become partizans in the war of such ministers, which is not a war of the country, or for the country; on the contrary, they are bound to exert themselves, by all constitutional means, to procure the speedy restoration of peace.

LXVII.

Truth declares it to be a great crime to carry on war without some assignable cause of sufficient magnitude, and commensurate with the evils of war; and that none but defensive wars, provoked by notorious and

definable aggressions of the enemy, are justifiable in a moral or religious sense.

LXVIII.

Truth declares that her most active enemies are those traders in politics and great events who mislead the public, and pollute, by their sordid calculations, all the ordinary channels of her voice; that these persons are the conductors of venal newspapers, a race of people who live upon public credulity, and who foster all the unhappy prejudices and passions of mankind; and that there never was a blessing so perverted as the power of the press by these corrupt speculators in news, many of whom care not whether they blast and wither half the world, if they can procure the sale and notoriety of their newspapers.

LXIX.

Public ignorance, generating prejudices which are humoured by statesmen, cherished by the professions, and pampered by unprincipled writers and editors, is consequently that many-headed monster which in all ages has opposed itself to the progress and ascen-

dency of truth. The first considerations of every *politic* statesman are, not what would be right—and what would be consistent with truth; but, what is the most agreeable to the public feelings—and in what degree right conduct can be reconciled with existing prejudices? A public wrong is perpetrated, but the statesman who inflicts it excuses himself by referring to the public opinion and voice, by which he says he is governed—the priest, who often becomes the moral apologist of the statesman, consults in like manner the prejudices of the public,—and the journalist, the echo of the public voice, in like manner consults the public wishes! A concordant result is thus produced at the very moment in which great public errors are committed! Calamities hence arise, followed by repentance and mutual accusations; yet the mischief cannot be recalled. Thus the history of human life, and the transactions of nations, are composed almost entirely of catalogues of errors, calamities, repentance, and often of vengeance, for crimes which arise less from the turpitude of individuals than from defects in the means of ascertaining truth, and of acting in accordance with it.

LXX.

Judgments of men agree whenever the premises are certain, as in geometry and arithmetic, and generally in objects of sense; but they disagree whenever the premises are uncertain, as in testimony, which depends on the credibility or honesty and knowledge of the parties; and in fancies and assumed principles, which vary with the constitutions and purposes of men. Testimony, fancies, and assumed principles, are, therefore, not means of forming infallible judgments, and consequently, no certain tests of truth; and only tests in the degree in which they are certain, or highly probable, so as to bring their objects within the operations of judgment. Thus every judging man laughs at or doubts about the fancied powers of attraction, repulsion, gravitation, and caloric; but he assents to the sensible powers of bodies in motion, and to the laws with which forces are geometrically proved to be propagated in gaseous and fluid media; because the latter are certain, and the former are merely creatures of the imagination. Similar differences create all the factions in science, and sects in metaphysics and theology; and the same

grounds of difference must always perpetuate both the factions and the sects.

LXXI.

Remember that accurate judging is not power *per se*, but power acquired; and that, as it arises either from the perception, or reminiscence of facts, so knowledge and experience are essential to its perfection; and men, in consequence, are qualified to judge only on subjects on which they have acquired knowledge and experience, and a man may be thought deservedly wise on many subjects, while he is a great fool on many others on which he has imperfect knowledge, or has not been in the habit of comparing facts and forming judgments.

LXXII.

Remember that, as minds are merely what they are taught, so the prejudices of education can scarcely ever be rooted out, and men cling to them as to their identities or existencies; hence it is that new truths never make effective progress in the generation which gave them birth; and that, as the prejudices of one age mingle with the education of the succeed-

ing, more than one generation must pass away before new truths supersede established errors.

LXXIII.

Remember that truth is like seed planted in the ground,—the active powers of the circumjacent gasses were previously exerted in other ways, and it is some time before a regular action and re-action takes place between the novel introduction and the pre-established energies; that the germ, and its expansion, are still a novelty, and call for a diversion of power, which is slowly conceded, and dependent only on paramount force; but if this be sufficient, the germ becomes a tree, and, in due time, scatters seed which covers the earth: let men, therefore, plant seeds of truth, not in the expectation that they will at once become trees, and affect the judgments of mankind, but in the benevolent hope that, if possessed of native force, they will, like all seed, produce fruit in the due season of their maturity.

GOLDEN RULES RELATIVE TO POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ECONOMY.

I.

The wealth of nations consists in the accumulation and superfluity of marketable commodities, and in the power of producing them by labour and ingenuity; the balance of produce over consumption, or the amount of exports, whether natural or artificial, being the means of introducing luxuries, foreign necessaries, and the precious metals.

II.

The wealth of individuals consists in the appropriation of property, or of currency, as the representative of property. Were the whole population of Britain divided upon equal farms, with equal means, he would be the richest at the end of the year who, having had the best crops, had the most to spare to his less fortunate neighbours. He would

then be able to purchase their service, and to work less in the next year, or enjoy more than others.

III.

The wealth, and, consequently, the powers of a government, depend on the collection from individuals of so much of the common currency, as will enable it to purchase service, and to combine and multiply the powers, of individual wealth in any required ratio. The same principles, extended from individuals to states, and from nations to nations, constitute and create all those differences in human societies which are the objects of political and moral investigation.

IV.

The motives for social industry, the means of export, the wealth of nations, and the power of governments, have their basis in the confidence of individuals that their labour will enjoy its reward without disturbance; hence, no state can be truly wealthy and powerful in which security of property is not afforded to its subjects; or, in other words, in which justice and civil liberty are not secured by immutable laws.

V.

Currency may be defined the measure of relative value. In different countries the same amount of currency denominates value in the inverse proportion of the mass of property in each, and of the number of transfers in which it is required. It constitutes the direct wealth of individuals, in regard to other individuals in the same realm; but it is no measure of the absolute wealth of different nations, or ages, because it is a denomination of value which constantly varies with the quantity employed or required.

VI.

A standard of the value of currency is best found in the necessaries of life. Labour is not a fixed standard, because its value in currency may be controlled by law, depreciated by competition, or advanced by skill. The sole object and use of currency being to represent and procure property, its best standard is some commodity of the first necessity; and this is approximated in bread or potatoes, in some countries, or in oats or rice, in others. The wages of labour ought to be food, clothes, and shelter, or as much currency as will procure them.

VII.

States possessing equal extents of soil, equally productive, and of equal population, liberty, and intelligence, would be equally rich, though one should contain but one million of currency, and the other twenty millions. The only difference would be in the nominal price of labour and commodities, and in the circumstance, that that might be purchased for a shilling in one, which would cost twenty shillings in the other.

VIII.

Two such equal states might exist for ages, their governments possessing the same relative means of drawing out the respective strength of their countries; but, if the country, which possessed twenty millions, were suddenly deprived of nineteen, and the circulation were reduced only to one million, while labour and commodities bore a price proportioned to the original twenty millions, it is evident that the abstraction of currency would destroy the energies and compacts of the people, curtail the resources and annihilate the powers of the government, leading to social disorganization, foreign conquest, or general emigration.

IX.

A steady amount of currency is not only necessary to the public happiness, for the purpose of maintaining any acquired price of labour and commodities; but an augmentation is demanded, whenever, from any causes, an increased circulation has taken place. Currency is always required and appropriated in proportion to the increase of transactions and circulation. Great trade, great cultivation, or great taxes, therefore require the ordinary circulation to be augmented in amount, to meet the demands of merchants, to supply capital to farmers, to make up for the balances of taxgatherers, and facilitate the operations of the exchequer.

X.

Since the discovery of the art of coining paper, a currency of specie seems to be less essential to the convenience of society. The purposes of internal circulation seem to be as well answered by a coinage of paper, or of land, or stocks, in the portable form of paper. It appears, indeed, to be of little consequence, whether a man carry his bullion to the mint to be alloyed and stamped, or whether he

carry the titles to any estate, or a schedule of stock, and receive stamped paper of corresponding value.

XI.

The best and most important use of the precious metals is, to equalize accounts between merchants of different nations. If Spain, for example, consumes 100,000 *l.* more of the produce and manufactures of Britain, than Britain consumes of the produce and manufactures of Spain, the balance of trade is so much in favour of Britain, and the 100,000 *l.* must be paid in bullion. A favourable balance of trade always produces, therefore, abundance of bullion, and *vice versâ*. If a nation improvidently consume the commodities of nations, which take no merchandize in return, the supply is only to be obtained for gold and silver. Savage tribes can obtain no foreign luxuries, because they have neither superfluous produce, desirable manufactures, nor gold and silver; but, if they have either of these, they trade, on principles easily traced, like civilized nations.

XII.

The ruin of governments, and the decadence of empires, may be ascribed to a course

of events something like the following:— An influx takes place of the precious metals, which, as currency, raises the nominal price of all commodities; and afterwards a departure of that currency, from some adventitious cause, leaves the nominal prices without currency to support them. Hence, labour and commodities, at their established price, can no longer be purchased by the reduced (nominal) wealth of individuals; nor can the usual proportion of currency be transferred, as before, to the government; industry, therefore, languishes, the people emigrate, the power of the state is palsied, the bond of national union, cemented by the common interest, becomes void, and the country is conquered or destroyed. Paper is a remedy, if it always represent real property.

XIII.

The nature of currency, and the principles of its circulation, being therefore so intelligible, it appears that a wise and well-ordered government should place it under control, and not leave its fluctuations to chance, nor suffer them to destroy the confidence and the energies of the people. It could not be diffi-

cult to determine on an amount lying between the maximum and minimum, which has proved, or would be likely to prove, salutary to a country, and then to apportion public issues, or coinages, to the fluctuations which circumstances might require. Such a provision is evidently within the power of governments, and its importance imposes it on them as an imperious duty. Currency is an artifice of society springing out of social convenience and convention; it ought, therefore, to be an object of social regulation, and to be the instrument of governments, not the arbiter of their fate, and the tyrant of society.

XIV.

To increase the powers of the state in carrying on twenty years' warfare, an unredeemed mortgage on the real property of this country was incurred of above 800 millions. The cultivated land of Great Britain consists of about forty-eight millions of acres, and the houses of two millions, worth respectively about 1200 millions and 4000 millions; besides fluctuating stocks in husbandry and trade, worth 600 millions more. The mortgage therefore amounts to a full third of the value

of the property; or, in other words, one-third of the property, taken at its nominal value, is mortgaged by the obligation of successive acts of parliament to the persons who lent their money to enable ministers to carry on their wars.

XV.

All tangible property in Britain is virtually pledged to the public creditor to the full third of its worth, as much as though the owner had signed a mortgage-deed; and nothing can effect a release from the payment of the interest but discharging the principal. In private life, men economize for the purpose of discharging a mortgage; but, notwithstanding the operation in cases of public and private mortgage is precisely the same, no proprietor of any estate in England has yet reduced his establishment, though no reasonable person can doubt that every estate is under a legal mortgage to the state for a third of its worth.

XVI.

The value of gold or silver, as the universal and perpetual standards of labour and property, cannot be determined by municipal

regulation, because their worth is measured by the original labour bestowed on them in their first production at the mines, which quantity of labour they represent in their transfers among all nations; but conventional or paper money of account represents no such original labour, and, being created at pleasure, and circulated by artifice, is not only no public standard, but destructive of all standard in countries in which its circulation is forced.

XVII.

As one of the chief causes of poverty is the fluctuation of employments, and often the introduction of useful machinery, which supersedes labour, three magistrates should be authorized to direct allowances from the county-rates, to be paid to artisans or labourers, who make it appear that, from causes not within their control, or of alleged general benefit to the public, they are for a season deprived of the means of sustaining themselves by their accustomed callings. The laws against combinations, in regard to the wages of labour, should apply with equal vigour to masters as well as to servants. At some poor establishment in every parish, all

who declare themselves destitute and unable to procure employment should be entitled to receive, once a-day, a full and wholesome meal, in the porch or hall of the establishment.

XVIII.

A fund might be established for old age and poverty, to be derived from a pound paid at the birth of a child by parents or the parish, and accumulated by planting, or compound interest. Till such fund for old age were rendered available, the same description of poor ought to be provided for in buildings called *Asylums for virtuous old Age*, to which the aged poor should have access, on certificates from ten housekeepers of the parish or hundred. The diseased poor, blind, lame, and helpless, should be provided for in establishments formed for the purpose. The infant poor should be kept in separate establishments, and be educated, and taught some branch of handicraft by other poor.

XIX.

The only poor kept in buildings denominated workhouses should be the idle and vicious, or those who are unable to procure

the certificates of ten reputable housekeepers of their past industry and sobriety. No paupers should be conveyed from place to place except between the hours of six and six, and they should be removed in covered vehicles, and be lodged in dry places, or in such places as other persons are accustomed to lodge in, and receive three full meals per day, while on their journey.

XX.

Every country is the natural property of its inhabitants; and the inhabitants of every country are the natural lords of the soil, and masters of the produce. In other words, when emigrants take possession of any new-found and uninhabited country, the soil and its produce, as far as is practicable and desirable, are understood to be their equal common property, to be seized for their common benefit, and to be substantially or virtually divided among them. Unequal relations of property would necessarily be created by subsequent social events and arrangements; and varied distributions would result from exertions of wisdom, prudence, and valour, in the organization and progression of

society. But the first principles should, at all times, be understood, felt, and recognized, because they serve as the immoveable bases of justice and philanthropy, and teach the duties of the affluent to the wretched.

XXI.

No errors are so numerous, compounded, and radical, as those which are generated by social inequalities; or by the various powers possessed by different men of appropriate luxuries and enjoyments. How numerous are our prejudices arising from the use of colours in apparel, from the glitter of metals and polished stones, from magnificent apartments, from rank and titles, and a thousand other inventions of society! We talk gravely of one man as being *better* than another—we speak as a thing of course of the *dignity* of some families, and of the *ignobleness* of others, —as though the differences were natural, and not created by the mere fancies of men! We shun, by a sort of instinct, a poor and ragged person, and embrace without reserve another well clothed, owing to mere errors of judgment and prejudices of education; there being in fact no possible difference between the

ragged and the sumptuously clothed, all the animal juices and functions of the one being necessarily the same as the other: analogous blood and analogous secretions of every king are produced in both by their similar functions; the differences, if any, being in favour of the poor man, from the simplicity of his diet.

XXII.

Knowledge does much for helpless indigence, in re-asserting the natural interest of the whole population in the soil. It thereby establishes their CLAIM to support, and places that claim on the foundation of RIGHT, rather than of concession and charity; and, in developing the common laws of the animal economy, it demonstrates the exact SIMILITUDE of our common natures, and proves that the only differences among men are in their habits and education, and in their degrees of virtue and vice. The poor have, however, no rights except in regard to the land, and they have no claims on the products of the industry of others, beyond the concessions made by benevolence.

XXIII.

True philosophy inculcates no system of disorganization; seeks for no new divisions of property, except such as result from the free exertions of prudence, skill, and industry; nor requires any associations of virtue with profligacy, or of wisdom with ignorance. It asserts great principles merely for the sake of just practical inferences; and insists on the authority of reason and justice, solely for the purpose of settling the moral relations of men, and their duties towards each other. It recognizes all the enjoyments and powers of the rich; but it stipulates for, and demands with undaunted and irresistible voice, the original and unalienated RIGHTS of the poor.

XXIV.

Who has visited a gaol, a workhouse, or an hospital? Who has done so, has witnessed the scanty concessions of wealth! Who has passed from those mansions of woe to the mansions of the great, and has not shuddered at the contrast, even though he has found little difference in the happiness of their inmates? Is it then within the walls of prisons that opulence shews its tenderness for

want and misery? Is it in the common workhouse that wealth displays its justice?

" Where children dwell who know no parent's care;
Parents who know no children's love dwell there;
Heart-broken matrons on their joyless bed,
Forsaken wives, and mothers never wed;
Dejected widows with unheeded tears
And crippled age with more than childhood fears;
The lame, the blind; and far the happiest they!
The moping idiot, and the madman gay."

Or, is it in the *public* wards of hospitals, where disease, stalking in every form, aggravates disease, that men show their sympathy for their helpless and afflicted brethren?

XXV.

Right reason demands of wise legislation and national sympathy, a more tender and adequate provision for poverty and misery, than is now afforded by our gaols, workhouses, and hospitals! It demands that the objects of want and suffering should be treated with due respect to their moral habits, and as beings who have RIGHTS OF THEIR OWN AND LEGITIMATE CLAIMS on society; and also as kindred human creatures, possessed of analogous feelings to those who foolishly consider distinctions

of society, and varied powers of indulgence, as generating differences in the common and immutable nature of man.

XXVI.

We ought to have *Asylums for the aged and unfortunate poor;* and to insist on the necessary distinction between such asylums and *Workhouses for the improvident and vicious poor.* We ought to expect the erection, at the public expence, of *asylums for incurable and chronic diseases*, and also of *hospitals for acute diseases.* The aggregate expences of such a kind and effective system would be as follows :—

	£.
300 asylums, or sets of alms-houses for the unfortunate poor, each providing for 100 souls, at 25*l.* each per annum - - -	750,000
300 work-houses for the profligate and improvident poor, 150 each, at 10*l.* - -	450,000
300 asylums, or sets of alms houses, for the incurably diseased, the blind, deaf, and dumb, insane, crippled, bed-ridden, &c. 100 in each, at 30*l.* each - - - -	900,000
300 hospitals for accidents and temporary sickness, 100 in each, 30*l.* each - -	900,000
250,000 poor families relieved at their own houses with 4*s.* per week - - - -	2,500,000

1200 committees of management, each allowed 500*l.* per annum - - - -	600,000
900 foundling hospitals for educating and feeding the children of the poor, about 250 in each, at 8*l.* each - - - -	1,800,000
The building or purchasing of 2100 suitable establishments, would cost each 5000*l.* or 9 millions, bearing an annuity interest of -	900,000
The annual repairs would cost - -	450,000

The poor, thus kindly and liberally provided for, would exceed in number *a million.*

	Persons.
300 sets of alms-houses for 100 unfortunate poor, would provide for - - -	30,000
300 workhouses for improvident poor, would, at 150 each, provide for - -	45,000
300 alms-houses for the helpless and incurable, at 100 each - - - -	30,000
300 hospitals for accidents and acute diseases, at 100 each - - -	30,000
250,000 weekly pensions of 4*s.* would relieve or assist treble the number - -	750,000
900 foundling hospitals for rearing and educating orphans and poor children, at 250 each	225,000
Total maintained or relieved -	1,110,000

XXVII.

By assigning the proportion of fifty of the alms-houses, &c. to Ireland, thirty-five to

Scotland, and fifteen to Wales, 200 would remain to England, which, combining size, population, and employments, would be after the rate of twenty-four to Yorkshire, twenty-four to Middlesex, two to Rutland, three to Huntingdonshire, &c. The committees of management should be resident within the districts for which the respective establishments are formed, and should consist of a chairman and six members, nominated by the grand jury of the county, from among persons possessing 100 acres of freehold land, or occupying 300 acres on lease. Two to go out by rotation every year, and to be ineligible to be re-elected till all those qualified have served. The eligibility to the alms-houses should be decided by the certificate of twelve near neighbours and employers. A reformed conduct in the workhouse should lead to a transfer to the alms-houses; and a disorderly conduct in the latter, proved before the commissioners, to a transfer to the workhouse.

XXVIII.

If it be asked why there are poor, and why the poor are to be tolerated, it may be replied, because the faculties of all men do not qualify

them to cope with society, and they are overreached and overwhelmed; because this inequality of power is still more evident in old age, among single women, widows, and children, few or none of whom can wholly maintain themselves by their industry; because the progress of taxation, and the fluctuating value of money, serve constantly to cheat labour of its reward, the laws compelling the labourer to follow the rise of commodities at a ruinous distance, and to maintain a contest, at every step he takes, to indemnify himself; because those who live by industry are unable to make reserves against sickness, accidents, and old age;—because parents who subsist by labour, are unable to make provision for those children whom they may leave orphans;—because the lands, the common birth-right of the whole population, are previously absorbed and occupied;—because speculations and monopolies in the definite quantity of the land of the realm have diminished the number of farms, and the means of supporting and rearing families out of their superfluities;—because the unrestricted avarice of landowners has led them to prefer to let their lands to monopolizing and speculating graziers,

who feed cattle instead of men, and employ but one shepherd where ten families used to subsist; and, because those who are unable to obtain a subsistence by exerting such a quantity of labour as nature would compel them to bestow on their proportion of soil, have a right to indemnity from those who prefer keeping the soil in their own hands.

XXXVI.

When the prejudices, of which man is the creature, are duly considered, the institutions of Elizabeth, imperfect as they were, deserve admiration. Statesmen are too often the agents of public prejudice, and are compelled to follow, rather than precede, public intelligence. If a Walsingham or Cecil now directed a code of Poor Laws, their system would vary in the degree in which the intelligence of the reign of George the Fourth exceeds that of Elizabeth; and, if we are now become, or are becoming, the creatures of superior reason, the system produced will be one of increased philanthropy and justice.

GOLDEN RULES FOR MAGISTRATES.

I.

The people's estimation of the government under which they live, being founded on the pure, just, and rational administration of the laws, it ought to be felt that no social duties are more important and obligatory than those of a local magistrate or justice of the peace.

II.

All such magistrates being representatives, in regard to their particular powers, of the constitutional authority of the supreme executive government, they are bound in every act of their office to consider themselves as delegates of the sovereign, and, in consonance with the royal oath, "to execute law and justice in mercy, and to govern the people according to the statutes agreed on in parliament, and to the laws and customs of the kingdom."

III.

An English magistrate should always bear in mind that the supreme executive authority, of which he is the local representative, is restricted in its powers by the laws and the constitution; and the rights and privileges of a free people are as inviolable as the prerogatives of the sovereign; and that English magistrates are not instruments of a despotic power, but agents of a constitutional monarch, whose obligations to his people are determined by the same laws that constitute the obligations of the people.

IV.

An English magistrate should feel that every subject of these realms, be he rich or be he poor, be he accuser or under accusation, is equal in the eye of the law; that the laws of England are no respectors of persons; that they can never be dispensed with to suit the humour of the magistrate or the policy of the crown; and that they are literally imperative in their popular sense, until they have been altered or repealed by the conjoint authorities which made them.

V.

The cardinal virtues of all magistracy are INCORRUPTIBILITY, IMPARTIALITY, VIGILANCE, and BENEVOLENCE.

VI.

An incorruptible magistrate will not only be incorruptible in his own conduct, directly and indirectly, immediately and remotely; but he will exercise a wholesome suspicion in regard to the possible corruptions, extortions, and oppressions, practised by his clerks, constables, officers, and other agents of his authority.

VII.

An impartial magistrate will jealously guard every avenue of his mind against the vice and weakness of partiality; he will be careful not to be influenced by *ex parte* statements, by crafty or malignant insinuations, or by interested and vulgar prejudices; and he will never fail to remember that, although justice is blind in regard to the parties, she is all eye in her search after the truth.

VIII.

A vigilant magistrate will always hear both sides before he makes his determination; he

will patiently submit to the awkwardness, timidity, and inexperience of either of the parties; he will cautiously balance the various points of evidence, and will persevere in his examinations, when necessary, till he has disentangled the case before him from all doubt and uncertainty.

IX.

A benevolent magistrate will never forget that mercy is the brightest ornament of all power; he will never suffer any cruelty, threat, or wanton insult, to be committed on persons under accusation, to extort confessions, or on any other pretence whatsoever; he will never exact bail beyond the means of the parties; he will himself inspect all places of temporary or permanent confinement; and he will carefully prevent violations of humanity in the various subaltern agents of his jurisdiction.

X.

Magistrates should never forget that imprisonment is punishment; that to be sent to prison destroys the character of a man, while a residence there blunts his moral feelings,

and renders him indifferent as to his future life. No magistrate ought, therefore, to be forward to commit for trial, except in the case of heinous offences, or habitual culprits. Law is not an active inquisition: the magistrate is bound to hear a charge, but it lies with himself to bind the parties to prosecute; and, as this is reluctantly done in nine cases out of ten, so a wise and humane magistrate should permit the parties to compromise, whenever the offence is trivial, and the offender a novice. But, in all such cases, the magistrate must be capable of acting a manly part, and be able to maintain his own upright views; for there are Dracos in every commission, and knaves and officers about every bench, whose fees depend on the number of commitments and prosecutions.

XI.

A public-spirited magistrate will always be easy of access on special occasions which demand his interposition, and he will be punctual in his attendance at those known periods which he sets apart for the administration of justice.

XII.

When two or more magistrates are acting together, they should never disgrace the seat of justice by their open differences or jealousies, but, when such arise, ought to retire and agree on any point at issue between themselves, before they appear again on the bench; and every honourable man will strictly guard himself against the possibility that his own peevish feelings towards a brother magistrate may affect the interest of the parties before them, by any spirit of mutual contradiction or opposition. Whenever it happens that two magistrates feel a mutual dislike of each other, they ought never to act by themselves, but always call in the aid of a third or fourth, to neutralize their differences.

XIII.

In hearing charges brought before him, a magistrate should remember the dependence of the parties on his patient attention; his examinations should be public, but in most cases the witnesses ought not to be heard in each other's presence; he should be jealous of the influence of rewards and penalties on the evidence of the informers; he should

warily guard himself against the malignant feelings or sinister designs of accusers; and, before he commits or convicts, he should be thoroughly satisfied that the act charged was perpetrated with a criminal intention, and contrary to the true intent of some statute, law, or ordinance of the realm.

XIV.

A worthy magistrate will beware of being misled by the boisterous logic of stern and unfeeling men, when they have the misfortune to have such for their colleagues. Many men, brought up in the lap of luxury, and strangers by fortune to the sufferings which goad men into obliquities of conduct, feel it a duty never to compromise with any breach of the law, however venial, and, like Draco, visit crimes of every shade with the same inflexible severity; but the discriminating and humane magistrate will oppose all such with inflexible firmness, and never yield to any decision in which law and justice are not tempered with sympathy and mercy.

XV.

In all adjudications relative to the poor, an upright magistrate should be the poor man's

friend, and the guardian of the destitute and helpless, against the sordid calculations of avarice, and the overbearing spirit of wealth, accurately discriminating between the impositions of idleness and vice, and the claims of industry and virtue.

XVI.

He ought to be sensible that the letter of the laws is the rule of conduct for subjects as well as magistrates, and that no man is amenable to magisterial authority who has not offended against the ordinary and obvious interpretation of some law, and who has not been convicted, on the oaths of creditable witnesses, either by the recorded adjudication of a justice of the peace, or by the solemn verdict of a jury of his country.

XVII.

In committing to prison, the magistrate should carefully distinguish whether the object is correction after conviction, or simple detention before trial, and should direct his warrant accordingly: no man being liable to be sent to a correctional prison, or subject to a correctional discipline, except as a pu-

nishment after a recorded conviction; and simple detention ought to take place in the sheriff's gaol only, because the sheriff is an honourable officer, bound by the ancient laws of the land to perform the important duty of making returns to all sessions of gaol delivery.

XVIII.

In imposing penalties, where the statute has given a discretion to the magistrate, he ought to be governed in his decision as well by the means of the parties, as by the repetition or turpitude of the offence; because a mulct implies but a portion of an offender's means, and it is with a view to various shades of culpability that the law has empowered the magistrate to exercise an equitable discretion.

XIX.

In assigning punishments, it should be considered that the penalties of the law always contemplate extreme cases of turpitude, generally leaving it to the magistrate to mitigate and apportion the punishment according to the circumstances of every offence; in

doing which, it should be remembered, that the scripture enjoins us "to forgive our brother seventy times seven times;" that the penalties of the law ought never to be passionate or vindictive, but to be simply cautionary for first or trivial offences, gently corrective for second offences, and exemplary and severe only when applied to incorrigible culprits, or to very heinous crimes.

XX.

Every justice of the peace who is anxious to preserve the honour of the laws, will never discourage appeals against his own convictions, or in any way obstruct or influence the decision of such appeals; and, as often as the letter or spirit of the law appears to him to have borne with undue severity on individuals, or families, he will benevolently ascertain the extenuating circumstances of the case, and bring them in due form before the bench in sessions, or before the grand jury at the assizes, in order that the suffering party may, through their recommendation to the proper authority, obtain the royal pardon.

XXI.

A discreet magistrate will, on all occasions, avoid mixing in decisions that involve his

personal interests, his family connexions, his friendships, or his known or latent enmities. In all such cases, he ought magnanimously to retire from the bench at sessions, or to call one or more of the neighbouring magistrates into his jurisdiction. He should remember, that his character will be in a state of hazard whenever his predilections as a private man, a politician, or a theologian, interfere with the independence of his judgments as a magistrate.

XXII.

A paternal magistrate will do more good in his neighbourhood by his advice and example, than by the force of authority and coercion. He should lend his countenance to the virtuous, and his protection to the unfortunate; but, above all, he should set a good example in his own conduct, and exact it from all in authority beneath him; because he can never punish with effect any vices which he practises himself, or tolerates in his agents; and their combined example will prove more powerful than all the instruments of judicial terror.

XXIII.

A justice of the peace, holding a commission from a constitutional king of England, and his authority under the mild laws of England, will always feel that his power is conferred for the purpose of increasing the happiness of all who are subject to his cognizance, and within his jurisdiction; that he is the guardian of the public morals, a conservator of the peace, and protector of the public and personal rights of the people; and that it much depends on the wisdom and prudence of justices of the peace, whether the social compact which binds the people into one nation under one ruler and one code of laws, serve as a CURSE or a BLESSING.

GOLDEN RULES FOR SHERIFFS.

I.

ANCIENTLY all sheriffs were elected annually by that portion of the people in whose behalf they were to serve the office. For five centuries they have been returned by the crown; but, by the constitution, they still are popular officers, appointed to execute the laws in the name of the sovereign, with due respect to the privileges of the people.

II.

The general duties of the sheriff's office are six-fold:—

1. As executor of all writs and legal process.
2. As keeper of the prisons.
3. As summoner of jurymen.
4. As guardian of courts of law.
5. As executioner of all summary punishments.
6. As presiding officer at the return of all

representatives to the Wittenagemote, or Parliament.

III.

To perform these important functions usefully, effectively, and honourably, there are requisite, in the person of the sheriff,

1. Public spirit, and independence of mind and fortune.

2. Habitual sentiments of charity for the frailties, and of tenderness for the misfortunes of his fellow-beings.

3. An unshaken attachment to public liberty, and to the person of the sovereign.

4. Persevering vigilance in the superintendance of every department of duty, taking nothing on trust, and leaving nothing to deputies.

5. An immoveable respect for principles, never compromising them to gratify temporary prejudices or practices.

6. Courage to resist the clamours and intrigues of those who profit by abuses.

7. Benevolence in examining into the cases of prisoners, and reporting on them with zeal to proper authorities.

IV.

To visit the gaols frequently, and at unexpected seasons, unaccompanied by gaolers or turnkeys, taking care that imprisonment includes no punishment beyond safe custody.

V.

To ameliorate the condition of the prisoners and their families, and to report to the executive government those cases on which the law bears with unreasonable severity.

VI.

To take care that no punishment is increased owing to any popular prejudice against the criminal, and that all the judgments of the law are executed in tenderness and mercy.

VII.

To strike all juries in person, and to take especial care that the spirit of all the laws for striking juries is acted upon.

VIII.

To guard against cabals, prejudices, intrigues, and improper influence in juries, by

calling each jury in a predetermined order, from at least three remote districts of the jurisdiction.

IX.

To summon grand-juries, in a similar rotation, from among the most intelligent and independent persons of every district, taking care that there is a due mixture and balance of local interests in every grand-jury.

X.

To examine minutely and scrupulously every charge made against gaolers, turnkeys, bailiffs, and their followers; to visit lock-up houses, and beware that no extortionate or vexatious practices take place in exacting bail.

XI.

In a word, the security, under the law of our persons and properties, against oppression or mal-administration, is in the hands of the sheriff; and it depends greatly on his vigilance, whether the laws serve as a means of protection or annoyance. While the verdicts of juries remain a barrier against the caprices of judges, and the influence of wealth and

power, it is evidently of the highest importance that the sheriff summon them in the way which is most likely to secure an impartial and independent decision, for therein lies the essence of English liberty. On the intelligence and uprightness of this executive officer depends, therefore, many of the active benefits of the constitution of England, and many of those features which render this empire, in respect to civil liberty, superior to most other nations.

GOLDEN RULES FOR JURYMEN.

I.

The most grievous of personal wrongs, and the most hopeless of social miseries, being oppression and injustice, under the sanction and colour of law, and the plausible forms of trial by jury; the most important of social and moral obligations are imposed on the integrity, firmness, and discrimination of the several individuals who compose grand and petit juries.

II.

An honest juryman should suffer death rather than consent to any decision which he feels to be doubtful or unjust; or which, in his own private judgment, is not warranted by clear and uncontrovertible positive evidence.

III.

Every juryman should be jealous that no other opinion than his own directs his deci-

sion; for his office would be a mockery on himself, on the parties, and on his country, if his decision were not the result of his own unbiassed convictions. The juryman who, ignorant of his duties, is inattentive to the progress of a trial, and decides on the suggestion of others, betrays his sacred duty, and is himself unworthy of the privileges of the law and of the protection of justice.

IV.

In deliberating on the verdict, every juryman is bound to think for himself; to give his individual opinion freely and boldly; and to bear in mind that it is the sole and entire object of the institution of juries, that every juryman for himself should decide according to his own judgment on the points at issue.

V.

The jury are bound to decide fully and finally by a general verdict in criminal cases of "*guilty*" or "*not guilty;*" or, in civil cases, "*for the plaintiff*," or "*for the defendant;*" unless, at the request of the judge, they reserve some point of law; but such special verdict should even then be explicit,

final, and conclusive, with respect to the facts of the case.

VI.

Every man is presumed to be innocent till he has clearly been proved to be guilty: the onus of the proof of guilt lies, therefore, on the accuser; and, as no accused person is bound, required, or expected, to prove his own innocency, so no presumption ought to be admitted against him, on his failing to prove a negative to the charge.

VII.

The accused ought to enjoy the benefit of all doubts, and of all uncertainty in the evidence; because it is better that a hundred guilty persons should escape punishment, than that one innocent person should be unjustly convicted: the issue of a criminal trial involving every thing dear to the accused, if he be found guilty; while his acquittal, though perchance he might be guilty, is comparatively unimportant to the public.

VIII.

Every juror should perform his duty in regard to the accused, or decide between the

plaintiff and defendant, as he would desire that those parties should act in regard to himself, were their situations changed. This sentiment should direct the juryman's attention during the trial, his anxiety in considering the verdict, and his caution in determining upon it.

IX.

Jurors ought to guard themselves against popular prejudices, against the insidious sophistry and daring artifices of counsel, and against undue influence in whatever quarter it may arise; and decide on an abstract and cool consideration of the proven facts, and the positive evidence of credible witnesses.

X.

Unanimity is required in every verdict of a jury, because universal concurrence is the only test of truth, and a true verdict must necessarily produce unanimity: for in every case there exists some truth which it is the office and duty of the jury to detect and declare; while the required unanimity serves to render every one of the jury responsible to his own conscience, to the public, and to the parties.

XI.

Every juryman should be specially cautious of convicting persons on evidence merely presumptive and circumstantial; the conviction and legal punishment are positive, and so, as far as possible, ought to be the proofs: no reasoning, however ingenious, and no circumstances, however corresponding, being equivalent to one positive proof, either in behalf of, or against the accused. Doubt ought to produce a verdict of *not guilty*.

XII.

The jury should carefully consider how far the evidence sustains the charge of a criminal design in the accused; no act whatever, which has not been committed with a proven or obviously criminal mind or intention, involving any guilt, or any penal responsibility. Thus no man ought to be convicted of a crime for any act committed in the exercise of his lawful business.

XIII.

A careful juror should commit the material points to writing, and compare from his notes the evidence on both sides, deciding on his

intuitive perceptions of right and wrong, and maintaining a vigilant caution against the prejudices, combinations, or misconceptions of witnesses, who, by desire of the jury, ought never to be allowed to be examined in the hearing of one another.

XIV.

No man being responsible for the crime or act of another, no prejudice whatever should lie against an accused person, because some one has committed a crime, however enormous; and the jury, before they convict any accused person, should take care that the charge has been brought home by distinct and unequivocal testimony, as well in regard to personal identity as to the fact, and the criminal intention.

XV.

Juries should be governed in framing their verdict by the precise letter and fair construction of the law, as well as by the facts of the case. It is not their province to supply defects in the law, nor to stretch its meaning, lest any crime should go unpunished. Thus no man ought to be convicted of *murder*,

unless the unlawful intention to kill be made palpable; and no man ought to be convicted of *forgery*, unless he has imitated or adopted another man's signature, with a manifest intention to defraud; for, if the law has not provided for the punishment of every case of homicide, and of frauds which are not actual forgeries, it is not the province of juries to supply the deficiency.

XVI.

The punishment inflicted by the court being generally founded on the abstract fact of the jury's conviction, with little or no regard to any peculiar features of each case; and the laws themselves being generally made for extreme cases of turpitude, the jury ought to recommend the guilty to mercy, as often as the circumstances afford a justifiable reason for abating the severity of legal punishment.

XVII.

Every juryman, before he consents to a verdict, should reflect that the decision is conclusive of the hopes and fate of the party or parties implicated: for, as the laws of England have provided no court of appeal

against erroneous decisions of juries, so these ought never to decide on presumptions or probabilities; but their verdict ought to be as much a matter of certainty as its consequences are certain and inevitable, in regard to the accused parties.

XVIII.

Though persons convicted of crimes may sometimes obtain the royal pardon, yet the verdict of the jury is usually made an insuperable obstacle; and though in civil cases, verdicts are sometimes set aside, yet the expences are ruinous to the parties. In sentences passed by courts of law, and in all ulterior proceedings, it is pertinaciously and gravely assumed that twelve honest men have severally agreed on the verdict, not in a careless, hasty, or inconsiderate manner, but carefully, conscientiously, and deliberately. All the consequence of legal murders, oppressions, and wrongs, rest therefore solely on every juror who has consented to an unjust verdict.

XIX.

Honest and independent jurors should beware of being made the tools of any practised

jurors, who, under the name of *special jnrymen*, sometimes make a trade of the office, and for the purpose of retaining a profitable employment, endeavour, as often as possible, to give a verdict in accordance with the wishes of the court. Some men are sycophants to promote their sinister views, while too many others are sycophants of power from habit. Both classes are equally dangerous in the jury-box, and every upright juror should avoid becoming their dupe, however specious, artful, or overbearing, may be their conduct.

XX.

Jurors should view with jealousy all charges against accused persons who appear to have been deprived of any privileges to which they are entitled by the usages of the constitution, and a due respect to the ends of justice : thus no accused person ought to have been committed for trial, except on the oath of at least one credible witness; or called on to plead unless on the indictment of twelve of a grand jury; or arraigned on trial unless he has been supplied with a copy of the same, in time sufficient to summon witnesses; and has enjoyed, during his previous detention, the free access

of his friends to concert measures for his defence.

XXI.

As grand juries examine witnesses only against the accused, every case, so unopposed by any defence, ought to be completely and unequivocally made out as to the facts, the evil intention, and the application of the law; and the exercise of a scrupulous and jealous caution against unfounded, malicious, and irrelevant, charges, can be attended with little danger or injury to the public, compared with the irreparable injury which the admission of a frivolous or malicious indictment may inflict on innocent and respectable persons.

XXII.

The duties of a CORONER'S JURY are often of the deepest importance to justice and liberty, being the first tribunal to decide on such acts of oppression, or abuses of power, as have led to fatal results. Such jurors are enabled to mark for punishment any murders committed by the wanton introduction of soldiery; and also to confer impunity on any just resistance made against unwarranted acts which may

have been attempted under colour of law, or by any improper assumption of authority.

XXIII.

In trying charges of libel, sedition, or treason, the jury should be jealously on their guard against party prejudices, and the influence of the administration for the time being; and they should bear in mind, that it is chiefly in such cases, that juries are so eminently the barriers of public liberty, the securities of the freedom of the press, and the guardians of their fellow-citizens in its wholesome exercise.

XXIV.

In trying libel causes, jurors ought never to lose sight of the important services rendered to mankind, by the sacred right of freely discussing public topics, and the public conduct of public men; and of examining, asserting, and printing, the truth on all subjects of general interest; and, as the law of libel has in effect forbidden them to find a verdict of *guilty*, on mere proof of publication, so, in the absence of all positive proof of criminal intention, they

are warranted by that law in finding a general verdict of *not guilty.*

XXV.

In deciding on political questions in general, every upright juror should respect the fundamental laws of the realm as laid down in Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of Rights; and should carefully avoid becoming the dupe of the sophistry of any obsequious authorities, or being made an instrument to give effect to temporary laws passed by overbearing factions, in contravention of the laws of God and right reason, of the just rights of the people, and of the fundamental principles and practices of the British constitution.

XXVI.

The foreman should ascertain and equally respect every opinion in the jury; and the verdict, after every member of the jury has been consulted, and it has been unanimously agreed upon, should be solemnly delivered; no variation being permitted to take place, on the suggestion or dictation of any one, unless the jury, before their decision is recorded, choose

to retire again and formally sanction such proposed variation by their own new verdict.

XXVII.

Previous to declaring their verdict, every juror should give the accused the fair benefit of those distinctions in the time, quantity, and quality, of offences, which have been explained by the judge or counsel; and he should anxiously consider, whether the accused has been identified, whether the fact charged has been brought home to him, whether the crime alleged is within the meaning and cognizance of the law, founding the verdict on his combined view of *proven*, not presumptive, facts, and *established*, not constructive, law.

XXVIII.

It being the sole object of the proceedings in every trial to enable the jury to acquire correct views of the facts which bear on the questions at issue; it is the duty of every juryman to ask pertinent questions for his own satisfaction; to protect timid, inexperienced, and embarrassed, witnesses; to receive with caution the testimony of others, who are under the influence of fear, hatred, or expected

reward; and to require the production of any species of evidence which is tendered or attainable, and which appears to him to be necessary.

XXIX.

It is the delicate but sacred duty of jurymen, to guard against the undue interference or mistaken views of judges, or presiding magistrates, who often take on themselves to direct and dictate to juries, and in bad times have presumed to reprimand them for honest verdicts, or bully them into dishonest ones. The judge is authorized to expound the law, and if the jury cannot write, or have neglected to take down the evidence, it is necessary he should recapitulate the substance of his notes, but he is never warranted in dictating and over-ruling the decision. He should be respected by the jury, but not be implicitly obeyed.

XXX.

Every juryman should recollect that while in the jury-box he is acting for his country; that, in regard to cases brought before him, he is the uncontroled arbiter of justice; that

he is the constitutional protector of suitors, and accused persons, against legal quibbles and oppressions; that he is the living guardian for his posterity of those sacred powers of juries, transmitted to him by his forefathers; and that the preservation of JUSTICE and LIBERTY depends on every firm and upright man doing his duty in every jury.

GOLDEN RULES FOR GRAND JURYMEN.

I.

A GRAND JURY is one of the most ancient and respectable tribunals known to the constitution of this kingdom, and its members are usually gentlemen of the highest consequence and best figure in the county. A knowledge of the duties and powers of a grand juryman is absolutely necessary to every gentleman in the kingdom, because his own property, his liberty, and his life, depend upon maintaining in its legal force this branch of trial by jury.—*Blackstone, book* iii. *chap.* 23.

II.

Their foreman is to be chosen by themselves, and any attempt on the part of the court, or sheriff, to nominate him, or swear him in as such, should be resisted. In Middlesex it is usual to choose a foreman in the grand jury room, after which, the members, with him at their head, present themselves in court to be sworn in.

III.

The grand jury ought to be composed of twenty-three persons, but the business frequently proceeds, although that number are not present, the foreman taking care that no bill is found unless supported by the votes of twelve of the jurymen.—*Blackstone, book* iv. *chap.* 23, *sec.* 2.

IV.

As it is the express object of a grand jury to decide whether there is any matter of accusation against the party accused, or whether he ought to be put on his defence, they are competent to decide finally and totally on all the parts of the charge, both as to fact and intention.—*Stat.* 29 *Eliz.* 3. *cap.* 4. *and* 42. *Eliz.* 3. *cap.* 3. They stand in the situation of umpires between the accuser and the accused, and are thus able at all times to protect the weak against the strong. This uncontroled and important power of a grand jury constitutes one of the chief glories of the constitution of England, and is a grand bulwark of the liberties of the people.

V.

A grand jury ought to be thoroughly and completely satisfied of the truth of all the parts

of an indictment before they find it, and ought never to be influenced by remote probabilities. It is a very serious and solemn matter for a person to be placed on his trial at the bar of a court of justice; and as the grand jury hear evidence only on the side of the prosecution, the whole case ought to be CLEARLY and UNQUESTIONABLY made out by the prosecutor to justify them in finding a *true bill*.

VI.

Grand juries have power to expose, if not to correct, all abuses of the state, of law, and of society in general, by due presentment. Any undue powers assumed by ministers of state, or courts of law, contrary to the usage and spirit of the constitution—any conspiracy by which the loose and arbitrary practice of the Court of Chancery permits lawyers and clients to worry and injure one another—any unconstitutional practices in local elections of members of parliament—any tyrannical and cruel decisions of magistrates, or the corrupt and capricious conduct of any judge of assize, —are fit and proper objects for the inquisition and presentment of grand juries; and, as there exists no more prompt and suitable remedy for the formal exposure, and speedy

correction of such evils, the country and government rely on them honestly and fearlessly to do their duty.

VII.

To find a bill, *twelve* at least of the grand jury must agree that the evidence is COMPLETE and SATISFACTORY. *Cro. Eliz.* 654: *Hob.* 248. 2 *Inst.* 387: 3 *Inst.* 30. When this is the case, the words—"A TRUE BILL," are to be inserted on the back of the indictment; but, when twelve do not hold up their hands, the words—"NOT FOUND" are to be endorsed by the foreman. It is usual to put the question only in the affirmative, and if the show of hands is less than twelve, the bill is instantly endorsed—"NOT FOUND."

VIII.

No person not of the grand jury, no barrister, attorney, clerk of the court, or other person, can be present during the deliberations and decisions of the grand jury; but it is sometimes usual for a deputation of the jury to consult the court on any point of law.

IX.

When two or more persons are included in the same bill, the names of each ought to be

mentioned aloud in their turn, by the foreman, because some may be guilty, and others innocent.

X.

In an indictment for stealing, if the crime is not proved against the thief, the accessary must be acquitted as matter of course, because if there is no thief there can be no receiver.

XI.

For the dispatch of business, and the convenience of witnesses, all bills against the same person ought to be the subject of uninterrupted decision; and, for the same and other reasons, a list of the bills *found* and not *found* should, from time to time, or as often as reported to the court, be affixed on the outside of the door of the grand jury chamber, or in some other conspicuous place, and be signed by the foreman.

XII.

The state of the several prisons, the malversation of the jailors and turnkeys, the conduct of magistrates, all gross and scandalous abuses,

acts of public oppression, and all public nuisances, within the county, are proper objects for the enquiry, examination, and presentment, of a grand jury.

XIII.

One of the grand jury ought to sit at the right hand of the foreman, and assist him in reading the indictments. Gentlemen who require to be absent usually consult the foreman, and obtain his consent.

GOLDEN RULES FOR JOURNALISTS.

I.

A daily, weekly, or monthly, journalist, is a chronicler of the living age, on whom depend those reports which are to stimulate industry, virtue, and talents, and to repress vice, fraud, and empiricism,—to sustain truth and oppose falsehood,—and to advance the interests of the human race and his country.

II.

An able journalist will study every subject of public interest so as not to mislead his readers,—will discriminate the pretensions of men who are candidates for public notice, or whose pursuits are of a public nature,—and will make himself acquainted with all designs for the public good, and with all plans of public improvement, and promote them voluntarily and zealously.

III.

Of all power, that of the press is the most efficient and extended; and yet the requisites, or means of attaining this power, include none of the great qualities of ordinary ambition. Half that is read is published without the responsibility of the writer's name; and the means of evading the law are so multifarious, that a literary assassin may for years scatter his squibs, irony, inuendoes, and insinuations, with perfect impunity, and even be rewarded by patronage proportioned to his want of honour, truth, feeling, and principle.

IV.

The unshackled exercise of free discussion, and of publishing truth on all subjects useful and interesting to society,—is the great bulwark of civil and religious liberty,—and is a fundamental right of the British people, and an undoubted part of the common law of England; and, without limitation or condition, ought to be maintained and asserted by all who duly feel and duly respect the value of truth and liberty.

V.

An anonymous and irresponsible public press is, of necessity, the facile instrument of

every bad passion; yet, even in its worst state, it is the effective guardian of our liberties, and a constant check on abuses and obliquities of power. To combine its beneficent qualities with the sanction of responsible authority for its articles,—to maintain its use without its abuse,—to keep it free under wholesome restraint,—ought to be the delicate task of cautious and anxious legislation.

VI.

An anonymous irresponsible public press is, in truth, a species of mob government, or the most cruel species of tyranny, in which the worst men may have great influence; while, to the ordinary characteristics of turpitude, they add the dangerous power of being invisible, of attacking in the dark, of lying in ambuscade, and of performing, in regard to character, all the functions of Italian assassins.

VII.

It is in vain to pretend that falsehood and detraction carry with them their own punishment, for mankind are made up of nine undiscerning for one discerning; and falsehood suits the former as well as the latter; while one half the world listen with delight to detractions of

the other half. Besides, to punish a lying and libellous journalist, requires a degree of public spirit and personal courage which is not possessed by one individual in five hundred. The chance of a calumny being forgotten or unread, is preferred to the expence and annoyance of prosecuting the author.

VIII.

Nine-tenths of the slanders and falsehoods which appear in the public prints are so contrived, as to want the precision which the existing law of libel requires: and hence, though capable of effecting the mischief intended, and of wounding the feelings of individuals and destroying the peace of families, they escape punishment. Legislators have done their duty in protecting property, and the task ought not to be insuperable in regard to Character, which, to all good men, is even more precious than property. They ought, however, to protect the publication of truth on all subjects of real public interest, and extend their severities only against falsehood, and to truth only, when not properly an object of publication.

IX.

An honourable journalist will require no other power for the wholesome exercise of the press than the right to publish truth on subjects of public interest; and the journalist who craves an inquisition of private character, or a licence to misrepresent facts, is a false brother, and one who seeks to render the press useless, by rendering it an object of just jealousy and general abhorrence.

X.

James Perry, for thirty years the conductor of the long respectable Morning Chronicle, was a model in conduct and principle to all editors of newspapers. In adhering to his public principles as a friend of peace and reform, he was twice abortively prosecuted by the ministers of the day, for what they considered public libels, but never for a libel on private character. He admitted no malicious notices of individuals; and the squibs, and wit of his paper, were confined to public and party relations. He oftener praised private men, than censured them. If they were contemptible, he forebore to notice them; and he

never allowed any one to be the victim of his reporters and understrappers. Honour and truth were his watchwords; and, with these, he raised his paper to a pinnacle of fame, respect, and great profit.*

XI.

Malignant editors assume a hundred forms: they libel by lamentation, by congratulation, by sympathy, by excess of charity, by affectation of ignorance, by juxta-position, by blanks

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* The writer of this article himself conducted for thirty years the Monthly Magazine; and, in the same period, published at least one thousand works on all branches of knowledge and subjects of contemporary interest. Yet, in printing on as many sheets of paper as ever were used by any other individual in England, he never once was questioned by any person whatever, or in any respect called upon to apologize or explain; and his only rule was, to adhere to the truth, to forbear when he could not praise, and to confine the press to its proper business,—the public conduct of public men, and the exhibition of subjects of public interest and utility. A thousand times has he himself been the object of slanderous attacks, but he suffered the knaves to smother themselves in their own poison; nevertheless, his connexion with the press enabled him to baffle malignity, by means which are not within the power of one in a million.

and surmises, by contraries, by extolling other interests, by flattering vices as virtues, by playing the part of impartial critics, by excessive candour, by exaggeration, by inadvertent mistakes, by false associations, by negatives, by artful interrogatories, by equivocations, and by mingling unmeaning truths with bitter falsehoods.

XII.

As the liberty of the press is the sheet-anchor of civil liberty and public spirit in England, so the spirit of patriotism takes alarm at any proposal for its restraint; but patriotism itself ceases to be respectable, if it be not well directed; and it ought, in support of all that is really valuable in the liberty of the press, to consent to restrain its abuses, and not insist on the capricious, insulting, and heartless, tyranny, of irresponsible, unknown, needy, and unprincipled, writers, whose chief rule of conduct is their own interest, and acting stimulus, the frequent gratification of the worst passions.

XIII.

An honest journalist will not wait for the current of public opinion, or be influenced by

public prejudices in regard to any questions in agitation; he will not withhold his commendation of public men, till he has been bribed or influenced in their behalf; and he will not limit his notices of public designs to articles or advertisements paid for by the line.

XIV.

A conscientious journalist will not assist in promoting any public delusion, for the sake of vending greater numbers of his paper; but will manfully expose it at all temporary hazards, in the confidence, that, when it has passed away, he shall be more liberally rewarded for his integrity by extended public patronage.

XV.

An upright journalist will not join in a hue and cry which any party or faction may raise against an individual; but will, on all such occasions, fairly estimate the circumstances, and place them before his readers as a tribute to justice.

XVI.

An incorruptible journalist will never lend himself to the designs of speculators of any

kind, whether in the funds, in provisions, or articles of commerce; but will always exert himself to detect, expose, and thwart, the artifices of all such parties.

XVII.

A fair journalist will always take special care, that his reporters of trials in courts of law do not receive bribes from parties to insert garbled accounts of the proceedings, or suppress trials of public interest; and that, from any malignity, they do not misrepresent the nature of the cause, and pervert the evidence.

XVIII.

A candid journalist will never permit the speeches of council, made to influence the jury, and often abounding in malignant assertions and artful insinuations, to form part of the reports of trials, except in cases wherein the entire proceedings are given, with the evidence at length, and the charge of the judge.

XIX.

A moral journalist will never insert any legal proceedings which violate decency, whether trials for crim. con., or rape, or any such

examinations before magistrates; so that it may not be necessary to secrete a paper from the female or juvenile part of a family.

XX.

An honourable journalist will never feed the public appetite for calumny, by reporting all the idle discussions and personal disputes which take place in charges and examinations before magistrates.

XXI.

A discreet journalist will forbear to repeat the scandal of the day, in regard to any individual, except when the public welfare or morals are evidently interested by the exposure. The sensibility of females, and even of private men, in regard to public notice, ought always to be respected. It is death to the peace of such persons to be made subjects of public discussion. Many men seek notoriety and live upon it; but there are thousands of men, and tens of thousands of women, who would be made miserable for years by the public application of an epithet, really in itself inoffensive.

XXII.

A judicious journalist will take special care that his reporters of proceedings in parliament, and at public meetings, do not, from any feelings or combinations of their own, garble the speeches of certain parties, and prefer those of greater favourites; by which information becomes imperfect, the truth is compromised, and the parties who are neglected or perverted suffer insult. Give no report—give the whole, or abridge with fairness and equality.

XXIII.

An honourable journalist will never sell to the best bidder his opinions on works of art, on dramatic performances, and on literary publications; and will never suffer the critical opinions in his journal to be sold by those who may write them; nor will he allow his journal to be made a tool for the malignity of any writer, or the means of raising the interests of one man over another, either as artist, actor, or author. This becomes an especial duty, because it is a practice which is often negligently performed, open

to the easiest abuse, and one of the most flagrant evils of the ephemeral and periodical press.

XXIV.

Whenever criticism is introduced into journals, and it is anonymous, there is danger of fraud and perversion. A Review is commonly the mere advertising medium of some publisher; and, as such, it is made the vehicle for puffing off his own books, and decrying those of his rivals in trade. The disguises are artful, varied, and numerous; but the object is always the same,—to induce the public to purchase one set of literary wares, and not to expend their book-money in another set. Against these literary frauds there seems to be no check, but either not to read reviews, or demand the responsibility of the critics' names. Newspaper criticisms are usually more venal, and less to be relied on, than those of the booksellers' reviews; but this is a feature of newspaper management susceptible of great improvement.

XXV.

One test of incorruptibility in an editor is his never making up articles as his own

with those for which he has been paid; and, by consequence, never receiving money for inserting articles which he ought himself to have written, or feels justified in taking on himself.

XXVI.

A vigilant editor should never permit his assistants or colleagues to receive bribes either for insertions or omissions; while,—to protect the press, the public, and honourable editors, and proprietors themselves, against such abuses,—some special penal statute is requisite, for the punishment of those subordinate agents who apply to litigating parties, and, for a price, undertake to give any desired colour to law proceedings; who often write paragraphs, partly true, and partly false, and threaten persons with their publication, unless forbearance is purchased; and who, in like manner, extort money from public men, actors, artists, and authors, either for commendation, or for omitting their threatened censures.

XXVII.

The only legitimate topics for exhibition and discussion by the public press, are, the

public conduct of public men, as such,—or affairs and concerns in which the public weal and public interests are affected; and, in this respect, a free press is an invaluable instrument, and too wide a latitude of discussion cannot be enjoyed by it: but society would realize the poetic dreams about hell, if the public press became an inquisition of private character, and of transactions between man and man; and such a system would create a social war, in which the best men would constantly be the victims of the worst. This strong line of demarcation should, therefore, be felt and acted upon by all editors, by all moral patrons and purchasers of public journals, and by all juries before whom trials for libel take place.

XXVIII.

Every honest journalist should respect whatever is integrated with the honour and interests of the country, and with those practices which harmonise with its prosperity. Thus, it is anti-British to assail liberty; and anti-social to undermine public credit and commercial confidence. He is a wretch who eulogizes any violation of the constituent pri-

vileges of the people; and a miscreant, who ought to be flogged at a cart's tail, if he exults in the ruin of banking and commercial establishments,—and so vaunts about such misfortunes, as thereby to involve others in common ruin.

XXIX.

A capital fault of many editors is the supremacy of authority, and the infallibility of opinion, with which they justify whatever errors or weakness they may have displayed; hence truth is constantly baffled by their dogmatism, and disconcerted by their insolence. A braggart editor ought, therefore, to be as much discountenanced by judicious persons, as a libellous one by the virtuous. Friends of liberty by their profession, they are often in their practices greater tyrants than any tyranny which they decry, and more intolerant and overbearing than the inquisition itself; while they claim an infallibility which does not belong to man, the assumption of which renders the Pope so contemptible.

XXX.

The cupidity of journalists leads them often to indulge in slanders, and especially in

those in which, by some adroitness of inuendo, they escape the responsibility of the law, because slanders gratify the majority of mankind, and serve as a sort of seasoning to their periodical banquet. Self-interest is the unprincipled excuse of the journalist to himself and his friends; but the source of the crime is in the malignity or unworthy negligence of the purchasers of such journals; for those who admit them into their houses, and patronize them, are the real culprits, thus bribing, and, in effect, hiring a public libeller to scatter calumnies and pestilence.

XXXI.

To promote the punishment of slanderers, well-disposed editors of journals ought never to report trials for slanderous words, unless at the request of the slandered; for the publication of slanders, even when the slanderer is convicted, adds so much to the original injury, that slanderers generally escape with impunity, merely because the slandered, in the choice of evils, avoids the greater in the re-publication in the form of a law report, of the slander, which malignant persons will not disbelieve, though the slandered may obtain the satisfaction of a verdict. This rule

applies generally, but especially to cases of commercial credit, to the chastity of women, and to crimes which attach infamy, such publications being, in effect, an obstruction of justice, and a means of protecting criminal slanderers from the just vengeance of the law.

XXXII.

Journalists and newspaper-editors usually consider themselves mere public censors, or exposers of errors, vices, and crimes; as though they felt themselves to be the worst men in the community, and judged it necessary to depreciate others for the purpose of keeping themselves in countenance: but it would be more worthy, and quite as useful, if they were frequently to play the parts of unbought eulogists, seeking out—and holding up to public example—praiseworthy instances of living generosity, charity, and benevolence; as though they themselves felt no envy of virtue, and were capable of participating in its sentiments, and sympathizing with its glory. They ought not to leave to dramatists, and remote historians, the pleasing duty of celebrating heroic and generous deeds in the times of which they are the proper chroniclers.

XXXIII.

Newspapers and journals are, for their period, what histories are for ages, and nations; but, as they are printed for eye-witnesses of the transactions, and are perused by the actors in the events which they record, the observation of Walpole, that—history is all a lie, should not be applicable to them; and they ought to give the lie to the observation, by their correctness, impartiality, and discrimination.

XXXIV.

In their reports of proceedings before magistrates, all cautions and notices should be stated for the public information; and, in like manner, inquests before coroners should be reported in such manner as to be useful and instructive to the public. Displays of wit, or passion, preferences of one magistrate over another, or any perversions of evidence or misrepresentations on such subjects, render a paper a nuisance to the public, to the magistracy, and the neighbourhood.

XXXV.

If many editors of newspapers were half as anxious to perform a public-spirited duty, in regard to objects of utility and matters of fact,

as they are to enter upon political discussions, and display opinions on party questions,—newspapers would be ten times more useful than they are. If they were more alive to the power of doing good, which they really possess,—were less of politicians, and more of citizens and philanthropists, they might usefully direct public attention and powerful patronage to the wants of genius, and to its fruits of literature and the arts, and to projects of improvement, and to discoveries beneficial to the world, all which often languish or become abortive for want of such aid.

XXXVI.

If the sphere of provincial papers is more limited than those of the metropolis, and their labours less original, their means of doing good, and promoting the interests and happiness of their immediate vicinity, are greater; and no man in society has it in his power to exert more useful influence than a sensible, upright, and independent, printer of a provincial paper. But, on these qualities depend his utility; for, if he does not combine them in his character and conduct, no greater nuisance can exist.

XXXVII.

The securities of civil liberty are so essential to the prosperity of a nation,—so congenial with the nature of man, or of the man who is a man,—and so intimately blended with that free discussion which is the soul of all journals,—that the journalist who is their enemy must either be a narrow-minded creature, habitually averse to every generous emotion, the tool and sycophant of some such narrow souls for interested purposes, or a false brother, stimulated by perversity of character, or by some calculation in regard to the number of narrow souls who are likely to patronize and prefer such a journal.

XXXVIII.

As editors write for sale, and the most wonderful things are the most greedily sought after, so it is the constant and often inadvertent policy of news-writers to convert geese into swans. Hence the most trifling occurrence is swelled into importance, and every incident unduly magnified, so that we seem always to live in an age of prodigies. Newspapers, therefore, are not merely tele-

scopes of high power, but multiplying glasses, which enable distant observers to see every object of their notice at once increased both in size and number.

XXXIX.

Every diligent editor will investigate facts on the spot, either with his own eyes, or by means of trusty reporters, and will at least relieve his own paper from the general stigma, that newspaper statements are seldom to be relied on. It is disgraceful to the race of editors that experienced men should be able to warn others never to believe half that they read in print; while many, still more knowing, warn the inexperienced never to believe any thing which they see printed. Censure could not be stronger, and, though not wholly true, yet there is often too much foundation for the remark; hence, for the honour of their craft, it behoves editors to remove it by greater diligence and fidelity.

XL.

As laws are first abused, and bad precedents sanctioned only when obnoxious indi-

viduals are the objects, and as dogs may be hunted to death with impunity when they are called mad,—so the license of public slander on private persons takes place with success, and without being duly felt either by editors or the public, after a fire upon an individual has been commenced. They begin with pop-guns, and proceed with pistols and small arms, from the ambuscades of inuendoes, till at length the public endure an open battery, and the parties are obliged to succumb: but against this insidious system, sensible and candid editors should always be on their guard, and should never forget that, to abuse the press by personal slander, is to compromise its useful purposes; and they know too well the secret springs of all such malevolence to become parties without associating themselves in the turpitude.

XLI.

The primary consideration of every editor of a journal should be the character of his work, for on this depends its fortune and his own reputation, and well-being. At every moment of seduction, either by bribes, promises, or persuasions, he should duly reflect

on the greater value of purity and integrity; and remember, that to sacrifice these for any temporary advantage, would be to barter his birth-right for a mess of pottage. He should bear it constantly in mind that, as editor of a public journal, the eyes of the public are upon him and his journal; and that, as every interest and party has an opposite interest and party, so his improper support of one will be duly felt and resented by the other, and his character, and that of his journal, be thereby impeached.

XLII.

An intelligent editor will supersede the necessity of those puffs which disgrace the press, and which throw uncertainty on all that is read in the public journals. Whatever or whoever possesses merit in the useful or elegant arts, he will disinterestedly and zealously bring under public notice; and the gratitude of the parties will be his more certain reward, than the trifles received for paid paragraphs. In such services, public-spirited editors would be public benefactors, and be so considered in their age.

XLIII.

Many editors conceive their whole duty to consist in assembling and translating from foreign journals, and in arranging the parliamentary debates, law proceedings, and vulgar incidents of the day, as brought in by their reporters, or cut out of other newspapers; but these are mere common-place duties, which may be performed by any ordinary person, and the true duties lie in a comprehensive survey of the active world, in an unwearied attention to the passing labours of merit and genius in every walk of human pursuits, and in the devotion of the columns and pages of the Journal to whatever is useful, or tends to the advancement and advantage of society.

XLIV.

Many editors fall into the errors of kings and governments, and seem to consider the public as their property or slaves, and not themselves as mere instruments of public utility. Hence their dictatorial style and their dogmatical opinions on many subjects, insomuch that few facts can be dispassionately read, and few statements entirely relied on.

They often bounce, and swagger, and bully, mistaking assertion for argument, and their dictum for truth; while the non-editorial world seem, in their eyes, to be doomed "merely to peep about them for dishonourable graves."

XLV.

Editors of journals generally should constantly consider the importance of their social position, and act that manly and intelligent part to which they are qualified to give effect by their duties. They ought, above all things, to endeavour to be useful; and, in performing the interesting task of recording passing events, they should at the same time give a benevolent direction to men's minds and pursuits. They should endeavour to make the press respectable and respected, for their power is immense, and, perhaps, not inferior to that of state and church combined. The abuse of such power by some should not deter others from doing their duty, by the fear that their solitary integrity may be useless; but every one should set an example to his co-labourers of love of truth, of probity of conduct, of intellectual activity, of unwearied public spirit, and of patriotism in the sense with which it is combined with the interests and happiness of their country.

GOLDEN RULES FOR BANKERS.

I.

The banking system is the foundation of the wealth of Britain: it constitutes the financial strength of the government, and sustains the industry and prosperity of the people.

II.

It is the peculiar feature of the banking system of England, that its banks are banks of deposit, or reservoirs of the floating money of the population; insomuch that all money is assembled in them, and available by them for direction and appropriation by whomsoever it is most wanted, and who is creditable for its punctual repayment.

III.

It is another feature of country bankers, that, to augment their capital and resources, they are enabled to issue small notes as cash

on the credit of their establishments; and this system affords them additional means of sustaining the industry and prosperity of their respective neighbourhoods.

IV.

Other European nations possess neither of these advantages; and they never can possess them, owing to the capricious and uncertain character of their governments, and the consequent want of confidence and security on the part of the people.

V.

In England, the banking system has grown by slow degrees till it has engrafted itself on the habits, prejudices, and practices, of the entire population; and credit, with a banking-house, establishes a man in society, and facilitates his enterprizes in all concerns of life.

VI.

In France, and other countries, no such *point d'appui* of credit and character can be enjoyed: hence capital is limited to actual property, credit is low, and enterprize is

impracticable. The public revenues and the financial resources of the government are proportionately low and inefficient.

VII.

A fixed rate of interest is the basis of the banking system; and all the concerns of bankers and their clients would be involved in confusion, if the interest of money was variable and unfixed by law. An unsettled rate of interest is a chief cause of the impracticability of carrying on a banking system on the Continent with the co-operation of the whole population, as is done in England from the equality and certainty of all transactions.

VIII.

In England, credit is the prime criterion, and it cannot be commuted for a high rate of interest; hence credit is studied by all men who would be prosperous, and money can be raised on commercial securities on terms which the profits of trade will justify, while the high rates of interest in foreign countries, taken as a substitute for credit, destroy credit by the ruin of borrowers.

IX.

Interest can only be allowed to vary when the securities are defined and exactly equivalent, as on government securities, and on estates of ascertained income; but ruin must attend borrowers on fluctuating interest, in all cases wherein the securities vary in quality or estimation, as in Bills of Exchange, and the general run of commercial securities.

X.

The fixation of interest constitutes the stability of trade, and the maximum ought never to exceed what trade can afford to pay, while real securities will find a lower level. The law ought to fix a maximum, and not a minimum; and a maximum is justified, because money is a mere conventional article, and it ought to be subject to conventional law, in subservience to the general benefit.

XI.

As credit constitutes the wealth of bankers, they ought at all times to respect public opinion. They have the command of indefinite funds in trust from the public, and they

require public confidence in the circulation of their notes. The eye of the public is therefore upon them, and their chief luxury must be the power which money confers, and the possession of money. They may be enabled by their actual profits to display large and expensive establishments, but such things are not essential to their credit as bankers.

XII.

The most successful and wealthy bankers have, in all ages, been those of the smallest personal expenditure. Nothing is considered at hazard in such hands, and public confidence is the wealth of bankers. If a passion for personal indulgence and expenditure exists, and can be afforded, the parties should abandon the occupation of bankers.

XIII.

In every pursuit, certain self-denials are necessary: a clergyman must not keep a mistress, a judge must not get drunk, a magistrate must avoid profligacy, and a banker must never be seen in a brothel or a gaming-house. Many a solid establishment has been brought to the verge of bankruptcy by its

being reported that a junior partner had had a run of ill-luck or good-luck at play, or had lost or gained large sums by gambling in the public funds.

XIV.

The valuable banker is he who sets an example of moderation in his own household; who studies the characters and pursuits of his connexions; who patronizes prudence, industry, probity, and well-directed enterprize; who hazards something when the prospects of virtue are at stake; who hazards nothing in support of audacious folly and extravagance; who is content with the legal interest afforded by creditable private securities; and who does not grasp at inordinate wealth by illusory speculations of his own, even though the chances of success may be as 100 to 1.

XV.

The country banker who employs the capital of which he is the focus and depository, in sustaining the private industry and valuable enterprizes of his vicinity; who discriminates character with reference to trading qualities, and without reference to political or religious

parties ; who returns the capital into the vicinity, as the husbandman does his produce for manure ; and who refrains from distant speculations in the public funds ; is a public benefactor, and a patriot in the best sense of the word.

XVI.

The worthless and mischievous banker is the man of capricious temper, who deludes one day with promises, and withdraws his good will before plans are matured which he has encouraged ; who envies the prosperity of others ; who, confounding his balances with his gains, considers the possession of wealth as a title for pride ; who makes use of it to display his power; who employs it in distant securities, rather than in performing kind actions among his neighbours ; or who engages in speculations in the necessaries of life for the purpose of increasing his gains.

XVII.

In runs upon banks, it is the bounden duty of bankers to sustain one another in spite of their general jealousies, and local and temporary bickerings. The fate of the weakest to-day may be that of the strongest to-morrow,

for it is impracticable to realize all dead and remote securities. The shock created by the failure of a weak rival is not recovered for a considerable time; while the prosperity of all banks depends on the weather-cock of public opinion. An ungenerous conduct in a moment of alarm is always resented too by the public, and retaliated on other occasions.

XVIII.

The failure of creditable and solvent country banks might be rendered impracticable, if they were to make their notes payable either in London, or, the country; and if, in London, there existed one general depôt for paying them, which might operate in averaging the resources of country banks, just as they themselves operate in regard to the traders in their own vicinity; that is, if in London there existed, with reference to small notes, one focus of all the country banks, in which each should lodge real securities for occasional advances from the common stock of currency.

XIX.

It is the vast accumulations of capital, more or less in 1000 banks, which, when poured forth by the seductive advantages of a small per centage and government security,

enables the minister of England to raise annual loans of twenty or thirty millions by various competition, to the astonishment of other nations; while, as the whole returns into immediate circulation, the operation is capable of being repeated an indefinite number of times, without sensible effect on the elasticity and energy of the system.

XX.

As long as the banking system continues, as long as bankers are enabled by their balances and their confidence to discount commercial securities at not more than five per cent., England will continue what it has been during the last half century; but, whenever the banking system is destroyed by want of general confidence, and whenever commercial bills and securities cease to be discountable at a rate of interest which accords with the profits of trade, then the revenue of England will fail, her social improvements will be arrested, and she will sink to the level of other nations, or by acceleration even below them.

XXI.

The minister or the economist, who, ignorant of the practical operation of the banking

system, is ignorant of the multiplication of wealth by means of credit, is unfit to influence the fortunes of such a country as England; and, whenever it is the fate of the English people to have their public fortunes in such incapable or unprincipled hands, universal misery, general insolvency, and social disorganization, must be the consequence.

XXII.

As long as a national debt calls for an annual interest of twenty or thirty millions, and as the public exchequer finds it necessary to issue vast amounts of accommodation-bills, an artificial credit and circulation must subsist in British society, and commercial credit becomes in consequence the foundation of public credit. The former cannot continue to exist without the latter, because a great revenue cannot be raised without corresponding circulation, and great circulation depends on banking and commercial credit.

XXIII.

Commercial credit multiplies currency ten-fold, in its practical effect; and the same amount of currency may maintain an effectual commercial currency of ten times the amount.

Hence wealth is as credit, and, whenever credit is destroyed, currency rises proportionately in value, and prospective or time engagements in nominal wealth, inevitably ruin all by the change of value. Practically considered, a currency of forty millions may maintain a commercial credit of four hundred millions; but if the latter, owing to the ignorance or imbecility of the government, is destroyed, then all prospective engagements fall from 20*s*. to 2*s*. in the pound; and he who pays in a higher ratio must soon become insolvent.

XXIV.

In fine, it is the banking system, and its able and public-spirited practice, which make Britain what it is, in trade, enterprise, and prosperity, and, by contrast, the continental nations what they are: it is the useful pride which every Englishman feels, that he has a good balance and good credit at his banker's, opposed to the useless pride which the inhabitants of the Continent feel, that they have a few rouleaux locked up in their bureau. This small difference of social practice constitutes the Samson's hair of England, and is the fulcrum of her power, and the talisman of her financial strength.

GOLDEN RULES FOR YOUNG SHOPKEEPERS.

I.

Choose a good and commanding situation, even at a higher rate or premium; for no money is so well laid out as for situation, providing good use be made of it.

II.

Take your shop-door off the hinges at seven o'clock every morning, that no obstruction may be opposed to your customers.

III.

Clean and set out your windows before seven o'clock; and do this with your own hands, that you may expose for sale the articles which are most saleable, and which you most want to sell.

IV.

Sweep before your house; and, if required, open a footway from the opposite side of the

street, that passengers may think of you while crossing, and that all your neighbours may be sensible of your diligence.

V.

Wear an apron, if such be the custom of your business, and consider it as a badge of distinction, which will procure you respect and credit.

VI.

Apply your first return of ready money to pay debts before they are due, and give such transactions suitable emphasis by claiming discount.

VII.

Always be found at home, and in some way employed; and remember that your meddling neighbours have their eyes upon you, and are constantly gauging you by your appearance.

VIII.

Re-weigh and re-measure all your stock, rather than let it be supposed you have nothing to do.

IX.

Keep some article cheap, that you may draw customers and enlarge your intercourse.

X.

Keep up the exact quality or flavour of all articles which you find are approved of by your customers; and by this means you will enjoy their preference.

XI.

Buy for ready-money as often as you have any to spare; and when you take credit, pay to a day, and unasked.

XII.

No advantage will ever arise to you from any ostentatious display of expenditure.

XIII.

Beware of the odds and ends of a stock, of remnants, of spoiled goods, and of waste; for it is in such things that your profits lie.

XIV.

In serving your customers be firm and obliging, and never lose your temper,—for nothing is got by it.

XV.

Always be seen at church or chapel on Sunday; never at a gaming-table; and seldom at theatres or at places of amusement.

XVI.

Prefer a prudent and discreet to a rich and showy wife.

XVII.

Spend your evenings by your own fire-side, and shun a public-house or a sottish club as you would a bad debt.

XVIII.

Subscribe with your neighbours to a book-club, and improve your mind, that you may be qualified to use your future affluence with credit to yourself, and advantage to the public.

XIX.

Take stock every year, estimate your profits, and do not spend above one-fourth.

XX.

Avoid the common folly of expending your precious capital upon a costly architectural front; such things operate on the world like paint on a woman's cheek,—repelling beholders instead of attracting them.

XXI.

Every pound wasted by a young tradesman is two pounds lost at the end of three

years, and two hundred and fifty-six pounds at the end of twenty-four years.

XXII.

The nobility of trade generally ends with the second generation. A thrifty and persevering man falls into a line of business by which he accumulates a large fortune, preserving through life, the habits, manners, and connexions, of his trade; but his children, brought up with expectations of enjoying his property, understand only the arts of spending. Hence, when deprived of fortune, without industry or resources, they die in beggary, leaving a third generation to the same chances of life as those with which their grandfather began his career fourscore years before.

XXIII.

To avoid being robbed and ruined by apprentices and assistants, never allow them to go from home in the evening; and the restriction will prove equally useful to master and servant.

XXIV.

Remember that prudent purchasers shun the shop of an extravagant and ostentatious

trader; for they justly consider that, if they deal with him, they must contribute to his follies and expences.

XXV.

Let these be your rules till you have realized your stock, and till you can take discount for prompt payment on all purchases; and you may then indulge in any degree which your habits and sense of prudence suggest.

GOLDEN RULES FOR PARISH PRIESTS.

I.

The institution of parochial instructors of the people in the duties of morality, and in the doctrines of revelation, is so eminently wise and beneficial, that it may be adduced as collateral evidence of the superior origin of that religion by which it was formed and organized.

II.

It is an establishment so essential to a moral and spiritual influence over the people, and it gives so permanent and operative an effect to vital religion, that parish priests, and those authorities which appoint and superintend them, become important and necessary branches of well-organized society, and constitute a living church.

III.

Every parish priest is therefore an integral branch of the spiritual government of society;

hence arises the evangelical character of the priesthood; hence the respect which it claims among Christians; and hence all the obligations of personal duty and example in its members.

IV.

The parish priest is bound by the nature of his functions, and the object of his office, to reside among the people whom it is his duty to instruct by his precept and conduct, and whom it should be his constant labour to prepare for the immortality announced in the gospel.

V.

He is the moral guardian of his flock, and consequently bound to preserve them in unity, in mutual love, and in good offices one towards another. He should be their impartial umpire in matters of dispute, should allay their violent and selfish passions, and preserve the social affections among kindred.

VI.

He should constantly assist and advise the overseers of the poor in the discharge of their

delicate and interesting duties; and should draw strong distinctions between the virtuous and the vicious poor, taking care to reclaim the latter by gentle means, by forbearance and charity, and by extending the rewards of virtue to such of them as afford indications of amendment.

VII.

As ignorance is the parent of vice, as knowledge is the parent of civilization, and as the unlettered can have little conception of the nature of moral obligation, or of the evidences and doctrines of that gospel which they are unable to peruse, it is his duty to establish and maintain, by his influence and example, all institutions which have for their object the decent education of the children of the poor.

VIII.

Whatever be his income, he should live within it, and become a pattern of moderation, temperance, and contentment, to those who are expected to curb their own passions by his example, and who will be likely to respect his precepts so far only as their efficacy is demonstrated by their influence on his own conduct.

IX.

He should know enough of the art of medicine to be able to administer relief in cases which do not admit of delay; and he should be provided with a small stock of simple galenicals, the effect of which, in particular disorders, may have been well ascertained.

X.

He should apply his superior education to remove vulgar errors and superstition of all kinds; he should promote intellectual improvement among those who desire it; he should lend books, and give advice in the choice of others; he should also recommend the adoption of all improvements in the arts of life, which are consequent on the labours of men of science.

XI.

He should bear with charity the occasional heresies, or variances of opinion, which, owing to the freedom of thought, may honestly and conscientiously be cherished by any of his parishioners. If they cannot be corrected by gentle means, they will be confirmed in their errors, if violence or denunciation be resorted

to; and, above all things, he should be forbearing towards sectaries and sceptics, and tolerant towards enthusiasts and visionaries.

XII.

He should be punctual in the hours of divine service, and should perform all the rites of religion with devotional feeling and unvarying solemnity. Nothing in his conduct should be indifferent; and even at a feast he should remember that he is looked upon as the minister of a holy religion; and that his levities or sensualities will sanction greater vices in those who reverence his character, and quote him as their example.

XIII.

He will find little difficulty in collecting his dues and tythes, if he has succeeded in impressing his parishioners with a well-founded respect for his office and personal character; but, in all cases of dispute, he should convince them before he attempts to control them, and appeal to arbitration rather than to law.

XIV.

He should render himself the organ of the benevolence of his parishioners, by recom-

mending frequent collections for particular objects of compassion, and by superintending their distribution. He should, in performing this duty, increase the comfort and the number of independent cottagers; encourage habits of cleanliness, sobriety, and industry; create provisions for the sick and aged; and signalize industry and virtue in the humblest stations, even after death.

XV.

He should guard himself against becoming the tool of those in power, or the flatterer of persons of rank, merely as such; and be modest and reserved in his advances to them, lest he be considered as a hunter after preferment, thereby frustrating his just ambition, exposing himself to ridicule, and degrading the religion of self-denial and humility.

XVI.

He should never interfere in the political parties of the state; and in elections, or local questions of a mere political tendency, he should avoid committing the infallibility of his sacred character, by joining in the errors and passionate ebullitions of politicians. He ought in such matters to withhold his inter-

ference ; and he ought never to become a party, except when evident virtue is opposed to, or oppressed by notorious vice.

XVII.

His station, employment, and independent provision, render him an object of estimation among other classes of society, and qualify him to pass through life with respect, usefulness, and happiness ; and there is no social condition which unites so much placid enjoyment, and so many objects for the gratification of those practices which lead to self-satisfaction, with so permanent a prospect of competency and comfort, and so high a probability of preserving health, and attaining long life and felicity, as that of a conscientious and exemplary parish-priest.

GOLDEN RULES FOR INSTRUCTORS OF YOUTH.

I.

As the character of every human being is formed by education, and it is the difference of early instruction which constitutes the difference in the characters of different nations, and of the grades of the same nation, so the heaviest responsibility lies on all who are concerned in the scholastic instruction and formation of the character of each rising generation.

II.

The primary habits are formed in the nursery, or at the parental fire-side, but the improvement and correction of these, and the storing of the mind with arts, knowledge, and materials for thinking, are the duties of the school-master and school-mistress.

III.

Diligent directors of schools will, however, not limit their care to bodily arts and

lessons of books, but will pay every possible attention to the morals, passions, and personal habits, of their pupils. Cleanliness, neatness, courteous demeanour, love of truth, and honesty, may be enforced, while awkward habits, absurd tricks, malignant actions, and dirty practices, may be corrected in every seminary from the highest to the lowest, by system, and moderate vigilance.

IV.

No greater absurdity exists than to maintain that a teacher, who, in order to live, is obliged to take charge of fifty or a hundred children, should attend to the minutiæ of their characters and behaviour, especially as teachers themselves are required to possess certain scholastic qualifications, and universal powers and perfection of character appertain not more to them than to other human beings. Till schools can afford to maintain professors of morals, teachers of arts and sciences can effect nothing beyond the enforcement of general rules of conduct; though these ought in every school to be well studied, and strictly enforced.

V.

Whatever theorists and visionaries may assert in regard to equality of mental powers, and indifference to perfection, every teacher of youth soon discovers that nature creates as great a variety of capabilities as of structure of body and features of countenance; that one pupil is rapid in committing to memory, and another slow; that one is adroit in the use of his hands, and another awkward; and that one has powers of fancy, while another is logical or stupid; and, by consequence, that each excels in the pursuit corresponding with his powers, and fails in others. One in ten may, perhaps, be found to possess a general flexibility of powers.

VI.

With this variety of character no institutions are more unhappily constituted than the old grammar-schools, where, without the liberty of discrimination, boys of every variety of powers are obliged, under the discipline of the rod, to proceed through a uniform course of Latin and Greek. It succeeds with one in four; but in the other three cases, it stultifies, and creates a hatred of

books and learning through life; while it deprives other arts and sciences of students, who might have excelled in them. At the revival of learning, when all knowledge was confined to Latin and Greek authors, when the service of the church was performed in Latin, and when all books were written in Latin, such a course of education was not only not irrational, but necessary; it is, therefore, an unhappy condition of human affairs that it should be persevered in for the sake of salaries and endowments, when it is no longer either rational or necessary. To call such schools *free*, is a libel on all the best senses of that expressive adjective.

VII.

Every well-constituted seminary ought to present a variety of studies to the pupils, with capabilities of conferring perfect knowledge in those which are adopted. The power of reading well, and with an emphasis which implies a consciousness of the sense, ought to be attained by every human being. But to acquire this art, those books should be used which children are likely to understand. They can never read with propriety

of emphasis any books above their age and knowledge. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than to employ young children to read in such books as the Bible or Enfield's Speaker, or any books which treat of abstractions.—Pelham's London Primer, Mavor's Spelling-book, Blair's Reading Exercises, Pelham's Mother's Catechism, Aikin's Selection of Juvenile Poetry, and Barrow's School Bible, are indisputably the best books for the earliest age; and they are strictly compiled on the principle that children should not be required to read what they are not likely to be able to understand.

VIII.

After children are able to read the above-named books with facility, they may have others put into their hands, which combine knowledge with exercise. They may read for amusement in after-life, but in youth the acquirement of facts of every kind is of the first consequence. The Book of English Trades, Goldsmith's Account of the Wonders of the United Kingdom, Clarke's Wonders of the World, Robinson's Abridgment of Hume and Smollett's History of England,

Goldsmith's Popular Geography, Blair's Class-book, Watkins' Scripture Biography, Clarke's Wonders of the Heavens, Robinson's Ancient History, and his Modern History, Prior's Voyages Round the World, his Universal Traveller, Mavor's British Nepos, his Plutarch, and his Natural History, are books which severally afford superior exercises in reading; but, at the same time, they serve as efficient means of conveying to young minds a body of invaluable knowledge. They are perfect tools of early tuition, and their total cost of five guineas should be distributed over the seven years of education from seven to fourteen, in which period the whole may be read twice, as progressive lessons.

IX.

Every part of the business of a school should be pursued with system. Classes in various studies and books should be formed, and the pupils led to expect consistency and perseverance. The clock should be the signal for varying their daily pursuits, and particular days of the week appropriated to special objects. Whatever applies to powers of memory, should be done in the morning. Writing should be performed in the middle

of the day, when the muscles are more flexible, and the temperature highest. Except so far as knowledge may be incidentally acquired by the practice of reading, every study should be pursued by exercise. Nothing is learnt either by child or adult, except by working at the subject with the head or hands. Thus, languages are only to be acquired by translating out of and into the language. Writing and drawing, only by imitating good copies, and constant practice. Arithmetic, by working examples. Geography, by filling up Goldsmith's blank maps, and answering the questions in his two grammars. History, by answering the questions on Robinson's grammar, and his other school histories; and just so with other subjects—all must be studied by exercises systematically pursued, and these exercises are alone afforded by the Interrogative System.

X.

The interrogative system is a means of exercising young persons on many subjects, in the study of which, previously to its introduction, there existed no means of exercise. The only species of working, of which the

subjects are susceptible, is the form of questions, which, by this system, the student is required to answer himself, by referring to the elementary book on which the questions are constructed. These questions, to serve as exercises, are, of course, not in the order of the text of the elementary book, but are dodgingly arranged, the first having a limited range, and the latter ones embracing the entire book. They are printed in quarto on writing-paper, with spaces between each question for entering the answer; and, of course, the finding of the answer is an exertion of the mind, the framing it an exercise of composition, the writing of it on a slate an exercise in orthography, and the entering it neatly in the book an exercise of running-hand. The answering of five hundred questions on each subject of study necessarily involves a perfect knowledge of the subject, while, for the facility of the teacher, every set of questions is provided with a key of reference for his or her own use.

XI.

In accordance with this system, questions have been framed on many standard books;

and, in other cases, wherein no standard books existed on a subject, superior elementary books have been published. Thus the system has provided 500 questions on the Old and New Testaments, on the Eton Grammar, on Murray's Grammar, on Irving's Elements of Composition, on Blackstone's Commentaries, &c. &c.; but, besides these, it has been expressly provided with Goldsmith's two Grammars of Geography, with Blair's Universal Preceptor, Robinson's Grammar of History, Squire's Grammar of Astronomy, Blair's English Grammar, the Universal Catechist, Johnstone's Grammar of Classical Knowledge, Blair's Grammar of Natural Philosophy, &c. &c.; and, as all these books and studies may, by the use of the several keys, be introduced into all kinds of schools, they may be taught in every course of education without other charge than that of the books.*

* As the writer of these paragraphs is himself the inventor and introducer of the practical system which he here recommends, he relies on the candour and just feeling of his readers that his recommendation of it to the instructors of British youth will be solely ascribed to his sincere conviction of its undeniable utility and importance, founded on an unparalleled circulation of the

XII.

As correct book-keeping, and the practical means of periodically balancing losses and gains, expenses and income, is a source of wealth and ease of mind to all men, so it ought to be a regular and systematic branch of education for all classes, whether the young nobleman or wealthy heir, whose security requires this knowledge, or the young tradesman, whose success may depend on his expertness in so necessary an art.

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books during the last twenty-five years, on the testimony of hundreds of heads of schools of both sexes, and on the reasonableness of the principle on which the Interrogative System is founded. He has seen with satisfaction the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster generally applied to the education of the poor in the first elements of knowledge, which, without such means, they never could have acquired; and he has, in the mean time, enjoyed the silent satisfaction of seeing his own system working its way into all those seminaries in which liberal studies are pursued by the middling and wealthy classes. As the design developed itself by degrees with the publication of the books, he scarcely ventured to dignify it with the name of system, till he had by twenty years' exertion extended the principle to nearly every subject, and to his own and other elementary books.

XIII.

Every youth should study, if possible, some other language besides his own. Many reasons plead in favour of Latin; but, next to this, the French language possesses imposing claims as the living language of the civilized world, besides being the Norman basis of our own tongue. In teaching language and arithmetic, two reforms are demanded by reason; one, to begin with the indeclinable parts of speech, and become perfect in them before proceeding to the inflections, which is the system of the books of Bossut; and the other, is to proceed through homogeneous numbers, or vulgar and decimal fractions, before the pupil enters on mixed numbers. Practical geometry, and the use of a scale and compasses, should constitute every third lesson of the arithmetical master in the education of both sexes. It will assist in drawing, writing, geography, and be useful through life.

XIV.

There is no other method of enforcing attention but the act of the will, or the obligation of necessity. Hence emulation and punishment are the stimuli of education. It

must be the anxious desire of every instructor to excite the one, and avoid the other as long as possible, for a first punishment leads to the necessity of a second, and this to ignominy, indifference, contempt, and ruin. The skill of a tutor, in exciting and keeping up emulation, constitutes the perfection of his art. To arouse phlegmatic and sulky tempers is, nevertheless, difficult, if not wholly impracticable. Habitual appeals to their dormant and perverse feelings are, perhaps, the only means, and an affectation of not observing their unhappy characteristics. Beyond the possibility of cavil, the best, most systematic, and most practical, mode of exciting habitual and general emulation, are Blair's School Registers for both sexes. Their use will, in due time, draw out even the obstinate, hardened, and sulky.

XV.

It has been fashionable to abuse logic, because logic was abused by pedantry. But this art, as teaching the tools and terms of ratiocination, ought not to be wholly neglected in the education of boys. It is true it does not itself create reason, but it disciplines reason, and it confers practical utility on the

study of geometry and algebra, which are to be regarded as mere exercises of the reasoning powers and abstract applications of practical logic. In preparing boys for Universities, it is necessary to use the books respectively adopted in them, because, by usage, certain authors become in them the standard authorities of each science, and the examinations for degrees refer even less to the science itself, than to its exhibition by those writers.

XVI.

For knowledge of the social world, and human character, no book is at once so attractive and instructive as Esop's Fables; but the language of Croxall is quaint and obsolete, while there is no better edition. For politeness, manners, and personal character, no books are superior to Gregory's Chesterfield, and Chapone's Letters. The accomplishment of dancing ought to be taught to boys as well as girls, both as a wholesome and graceful exercise, and an introduction to society. Nor ought music to be neglected as a means of innocently and agreeably filling up the leisure hours of both sexes.

XVII.

Extemporaneous eloquence, so necessary to boys in their passage through life, might be taught in all schools, not by learning speeches and reciting them, but by delivering simple sentences in their own language, reciting fables, &c. from once reading, and proceeding step by step, just as other things are acquired. In two or three years, boys between twelve and fifteen might, by the lessons of one afternoon in every week, be enabled to deliver themselves on any complicated subject within their sphere of information. Nothing would be more easily accomplished, and nothing more useful.

XVIII.

Girls ought to be as well grounded in arithmetic as boys. No exercise tends so much to draw out the reasoning powers. Plain, useful, needle-work, should also be practised by them; and it would be an admirable system if two of them by turns were in every female boarding-school to assist in the domestic management of the house for a week.

XIX.

Wherever opportunities offer, boys ought to have a small plot of ground assigned them to

dig, plant, and cultivate. It would be healthy amusement, and practically instructive on many useful subjects which cannot be taught in books. Every boy ought also to be drilled in the manual exercise, and taught to ride and swim, as useful and healthy gymnastics.

XX.

The faults of treatises and systems of education are their impracticable fancies. The authors, chiefly maiden ladies, forget that, in country places, the majority of boys and girls are to be taught for the miserable pittance of sixpence per week, and that a shilling implies gentility: hence schools must admit at least half a hundred children to enable the teacher to subsist. Their theories and contrivances may aid the unhappy children condemned to private education; but the conductors of schools, in which ninety-nine hundredths of the rising generation are educated, have no leisure to turn aside from general systems, to which all tempers and capacities must yield. The formation of character consequently depends nine times in ten entirely on the example of parents, and the precepts and practices of the father or mother.

XXI.

Teachers are generally charged with pedantry, and it cannot well be otherwise. Scholastic subjects are the business of their lives; and their demeanour, among their scholars, is necessarily formal. Habit begets a didactic manner of conversing, as well as a certain air of authority. The world are used to it, and the world expect it. A facetious school-master is as little in true character as a facetious judge. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the school-master, as far as possible, to leave the manners of the school in the school; and, in society, display the results of knowledge in the ease, grace, and agreeableness, of the accomplished gentleman. School-mistresses are frequently the most accomplished women to be met with in society.

THE AUTHOR'S REASONS FOR NOT EATING ANIMAL FOOD.

I.

Because, being mortal himself, and holding his life on the same uncertain and precarious tenure as all other sensitive beings, he does not feel himself justified, by any alleged superiority, or inequality of condition, in destroying the vital enjoyment of any other mortal, except in the necessary defence of his own life.

II.

Because the desire of life is so paramount, and so affectingly cherished by all sensitive beings, that he cannot reconcile it to his feelings to destroy, or become a voluntary party in the destruction of, any living creature, however much in his power, or apparently insignificant.

III.

Because he perceives in nature a gradation of existence, subordinate and successive, by which atoms form the granular and crystallized masses of inert matter, these forming vegetation, and vegetables forming animalization; and this succession, with some exceptions, unworthy of moral example, is the general chain of all existence.

IV.

Because nature appears to have made a super-abundant provision for the nourishment of animals in the saccharine matter of roots and fruits; in the farinaceous matter of grain, seed, and pulse; and in the oleaginous matter of the stalks, leaves, and pericarps, of numerous vegetables.

V.

Because the destruction of the mechanical organization of vegetables inflicts no sensitive suffering, nor violates any moral feeling; while vegetables serve to render his own health, strength, and spirits, better than those of most carnivorous men.

VI.

Because, in the hope of emancipating himself from the sensual and selfish instincts which govern the human race, he yields to his moral and mental convictions, setting at defiance all those considerations about health and vigour which have been pressed upon him by the intellectual darkness and unfeeling assumptions of the medical and philosophical schools.

VII.

Because he feels an utter and unconquerable repugnance against applying to his palate, masticating with his teeth, or receiving into his stomach, the flesh or juices of deceased animal organizations.

VIII.

Because, against devouring flesh in general, he feels the same abhorrence which he hears carnivorous persons express against eating human flesh, or the flesh of dogs, cats, horses, or other animals, which in some countries it is customary for the carnivorous to devour.

IX.

Because he observes that carnivorous men, unrestrained by reflection or sentiment, even refine on the cruel practices of the most savage animals; and apply their resources of mind and art to prolong the miseries of the victims of their appetites, skinning, roasting, and boiling, animals alive, and torturing them without reservation or remorse, if they add thereby to the variety or the delicacy of their carnivorous gluttonies.

X.

Because, observing that carnivorous propensities among animals are accompanied by a total want of sympathetic feelings and humane sentiments, as in the hyena, the tyger, the vulture, the eagle, the crocodile, and the shark; he conceives that the practices of those carnivorous brutes afford no worthy example for the imitation or justification of rational, reflecting, and conscientious, beings.

XI.

Because, during forty-six years' rigid abstinence from the flesh and juices of de-

ceased sensitive beings, he finds that he has suffered but one month's serious illness; that his animal strength and vigour have been equal, or superior, to that of his contemporaries; and that his mind has been fully equal to numerous shocks, which it has had to encounter, from innumerable cases of turpitude in his fellow-men.

XII.

Because the natural sentiments and sympathies of human beings, in regard to the killing of other animals, are generally so averse to the practice, that few men or women could devour the animals which they might be obliged themselves to kill; yet they forget, or affect to forget, the living endearments or dying sufferings of the creature, while they are wantoning over his remains.

XIII.

Because the human stomach appears to be naturally so averse to the remains of animals, that few could partake of them if they were not disguised and flavoured by culinary preparation; yet rational creatures ought to feel

that the prepared substances are not the less what they truly are, and none but savages could devour raw flesh, or kill and eat on the spot the quivering warm flesh of their victims, in itself loathsome.

XIV.

Because the forty-seven millions of acres in England and Wales would maintain in abundance as many human inhabitants, if they lived wholly on grain, fruits, and vegetables; but they sustain only fifteen millions scantily, while animal food is made the basis of human subsistence.

XV.

Because animals do not present or contain the substance of food in mass, like vegetables; every part of their economy being subservient to their own existence; and their entire frames being solely composed of blood necessary for life, of bones for strength, of muscles for motion, and of nerves for sensation, just like ourselves.

XVI.

Because the practice of killing and devouring animals can be justified by no moral plea,

by no physical benefit, nor by any allegation of necessity, in countries where there is abundance of vegetable food; and where the arts of gardening and husbandry are favoured by social protection, and by the genial character of the soil and climate: for man is either not indigenous in climates which produce no vegetation, or has neglected to migrate from countries whose physical character has changed.

XVII.

Because in morals, universally, the moral sense governs practices without regard to possible inconveniences; while assumed inconveniences are not in any case admitted as justifications of practices either unjust or immoral. It is not the duty, or in the power of man, to regulate the universe; but it is his duty to respect his own moral sentiments, and leave to powers above his own, the balancing of nature, and the harmonizing of existence.

XVIII.

Because the practices of savages, and of savage ancestry, in killing and eating animals,

are not entitled to more respect among civilized men, than the practices of many nations, even at this day, in killing and eating either their enemies or their way-laid neighbours; and so forcible is custom, that the laws of civilization against murder appear to be insufficient in deterring the practice of cannibalism among some black tribes in the British colonies.

XIX.

Because custom has so misled men, and so hardened their hearts against sympathy for the sufferings of creatures in their power and unprotected by law, that killing and maiming is denominated sport, and skill in such practices placed even on a level with the liberal arts and sciences, insomuch that man is the terror of all other animals, and the merciless tyrant of the whole animated creation.

XX.

Because all such practices as hunting, shooting, fowling, fishing, badger-baiting, cock-fighting, bull-baiting, rook and gull shooting, &c. &c. deprive men of that sympathy and

sense of mutual justice, which, in their intercourse with one another, ought to be as operative as law, and the energies of which are essential to the happiness of society.

XXI.

Because whenever the number and hostility of predatory land animals might so tend to prevent the cultivation of vegetable food, as to render it indispensible to destroy them in self-defence, there could even in that case exist no necessity to destroy the animated existences in water; and, as in most civilized countries there exist no land-animals besides those which are purposely bred for slaughter or luxury, of course all destruction in such countries must arise either from unthinking wantonness or carnivorous gluttony.

XXII.

Because the stomachs of locomotive beings appear to have been provided for the purpose of conveying about, with the moving animal, nutritive substances, analogous in effect to the soil in which are fixed the roots of plants; and, consequently, nothing ought to be introduced

into the stomach for digestion and for absorption by the lacteals, or roots of the animal system, but the natural bases of simple nutrition, as the saccharine, the oleaginous, and the farinaceous, matter of the vegetable kingdom.

APPENDIX.

I.

The doctrine of Attraction of every kind is demonstrably absurd, by the following considerations. If A and B move together, and meet in C

A○ . . . . C . . . . ○B

A is moved by a force from the part or side A, and B by a force from the part or side B. But, by the doctrine of attraction, B is said to move A, though B is not only not on the side A, but, in addition, is not there in power so as to move A to C. In like manner, A is said to move B; but A is not on the side B where the force must be which is to move B to C. Therefore universally, when bodies go together, it is not their mutual actions; and the doctrine of such mutual action is, in all cases whatever, a logical, mechanical, and physical, absurdity.

II.

The doctrine of Repulsion is an absurdity as gross as that of attraction, because if A and B recede to C and D

C ☜ A B ☞ D

○ ○○ ○

While, as A is moving to C, its force must be in that

direction, or from A to C; but B moves at the same time in a contrary direction from B to D; and, as motions are in the direction of their forces, the motions of B cannot be caused by the force of A in its contrary motion from A to C. So, also, in regard to A with reference to B. The recession can, therefore, be caused by no mutual action of the bodies; and the doctrine is a logical, mechanical, and physical, absurdity.

III.

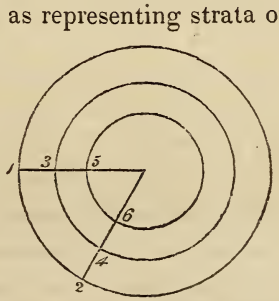
When theorists write so flippantly about centrifugal force, and liken the phenomena of the earth to those of a mop or a grindstone, they forget the orbicular motion, which is sixty-eight times greater than the equatorial rotatory motion. As centrifugal motion is merely an effect of one motion, it is neutralized, and even reversed, by any much greater simultaneous motion; and, subject to a greater motion, the rotatory motion then exerts its full force in producing simple equilibrium, concentration, and aggregation.

IV.

Many persons ask, with childish *naïveté*, why, when a stone has been projected into the atmosphere, it does not revolve and continue at the height to which it has been projected, as there is no attraction; forgetting, or choosing to forget, that the stone was raised by the re-action of some animal or machine against the earth; and that, before so raised, it had a tendency to fall lower, which tendency is not destroyed by the

temporary elevating force; but, continually acting, contributes with the resistance of the air to destroy the temporary force, and, when that is dissipated, the original force acts as at first, and carries the stone towards the centre of the moving mass of which it was and is an integral part. For the common force which revolves the mass, is not competent to carry round a stone at that distance from the centre in equilibrium with the whole; and either the stone must move towards the centre into a circle of less velocity, or the centre must move towards the stone, and the earth itself become lop-sided, on account of the stone, which is absurd.

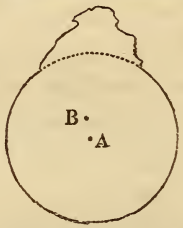
To render this clear, we will consider the concentric circles as representing strata of the earth.



Consequently the arcs 1, 2, and 3, 4, and 5, 6, are performed in equal times; and the velocities are less and less as we approach the centre. But the whole earth is turned by a *common* force, or by *one* force *common* to all the parts; consequently every part will present or acquire, or endeavour to acquire, an equal re-action; or, in other words, the momenta of every part will be equal, or endeavour to become equal. The velocities, however, are as the distances

from the centre; consequently the densities in each circle, in equal momenta, must be inversely as the distance, or endeavour to become so; and hence the fall of dense bodies towards circles of rotation which are inversely as their densities.

To render this more obvious, we will suppose a mountain to be placed on the side of the globe.



Now, previously to the addition of the mountain, the centre of motion was at A; but, as the centre of motion will be the centre of the entire mass, the addition of the mountain raises the centre of motion to B, nearer the mountain. The motion is now lop-sided, and an action and re-action takes place between the globular mass and the mountain, by which B is forced towards A, or the mountain is acted upon as it were to be absorbed in the mass. All the parts of the mountain seek, therefore, the exterior circle of the mass, or tumble as fast as they can. But, if the top of the mountain were only an unsustained stone, which, while partaking of the general motion, had been projected to that height; then such cause would not remove A to B; which the whole mass acting against the stone would bring it back with a continuous or accelerated velocity.

V.

The same figure will explain the cause of the TIDES. Suppose a mountain to be placed on the earth, and the centre of gyration carried from A to B; then, as the mobile waters would respect the centre of gyration, so they would rise around the mountain and render the mass elliptical. But, if we suppose the mountain to be elevated above the mass, like the moon, and the mechanical action still continued, and B raised to the centre of the momenta of both, like the fulcrum of the earth and moon; then the waters would arise towards that fulcrum, just as they did towards the mountain, and their rise would be directly as the force of the fulcrum, and inversely as the density of the waters. The seas rise, therefore, towards the fulcrum of the earth and moon—the mechanical action of the distant moon being like that of a mountain on the earth—and towards the moon itself, because the fulcrum is in the right line which joins the centres of the earth and moon; and the mutual actions of the masses are connected by the gas of space.

VI.

The re-action of the medium of space turns the planets from west to east, with a force which is governed by the variable action on their eastern sides, and which variation is as the square of the distance of their near and remote hemispheres; and a calculation of the variable forces corresponds to the 1000th

part of a mile. The hypothesis of gravitation is wholly inapplicable to this phenomenon. Action and re-action are necessarily co-equal and opposed, and a calculation of one is that of the other.

VII.

Comets sometimes move *in consequentia,* and sometimes *in antecedentia,* proving thereby that their motions are independent of the solar vortex, though influenced by it in passing through it.

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE

GOLDEN RULES FOR BANKERS.

London; Jan. 1, 1826.

In the evening of the day on which the Dedication to this volume was written, the Author found himself, by a sort of social Earthquake, placed in new relations to his connexions and contemporaries. In 1823, after a life devoted to the diffusion of knowledge, and after writing, editing, and supervising, innumerable books, tending to make the next generation wiser than the last, he disposed of a third share in his principal literary property, and retired on a moderate competency to Brighton; hoping there to pass the evening of his life, at least in ease, and devoting himself to many of the speculations which appear in this volume.

His tranquillity had been for several weeks disturbed by newspaper reports of the wrecks of commercial fortunes, and by accounts of the increased distresses of his old connexions in trade. Yet, as there appeared no immediate cause for these difficulties, and he was not apprized of the experiments making on public credit by men incapable of direct-

ing such delicate interests, he had no suspicion of the consequences inevitable on a general SOCIAL PANIC, in which all were excited to save themselves, and rush on the bankers of the empire, and on one another, by a scramble at once ruinous and fatal.

The ministers had disturbed all the staple establishments of the country by their empirical schemes about free and open trade,—the Parliament had given sanction to stock companies out of number, by their repeal of the Bubble Act,—and every thing had been put to hazard in subordination to Scottish theories of political economy, which at best are applicable only to nations in equal condition: yet no one had anticipated a total breaking up of the commerce, credit, and industry of the country; much less, that the King's ministers would look on in perfect tranquillity at the total destruction of a fabric not likely, amid the rivalry of other nations, to be raised again.

Never were the vital energies of a great and prosperous empire so suddenly destroyed. Credit and mutual confidence had been unbounded, and growing for fourscore years, and industry and useful enterprise seemed to be assured of their proper reward. Under this state of things, the Golden Rules for Bankers and some others were written; but, in a single month, they seem more like dreams than realities. All national improvement is suddenly arrested,—all industry is at a stand! Tens of thousands of families, who on the 1st of December were in comfort and affluence, are on the 1st of January

either ruined, or on the brink of ruin. The healthful and cheerful character of the population of the British Islands is changed; no man will trust his neighbour for as many pence as but a month before he would for pounds,—self-preservation, by means of the vengeance of law, actuates man against man,—and a civil and social war is engendered, as fatal to this empire of credit and industry, as an earthquake of the Caraccas or Asia Minor, or the plagues of the Levant.

The Author hastened, under such circumstances, to London, and found it a Pandemonium! Several opulent banks had been run down by the public phrenzy on that day; and commercial houses of established credit had stopped payment by scores. The panic spread over the nation, and the stoppage of four-score country banking establishments has ruined or paralysed the active generation of British traders, agriculturists, and manufacturers. He proceeded to the Bank of England, and suggested two measures to its Directors: 1. That they should formally guarantee any London bank run upon, as the certain means of stopping the run, and rendering their guarantee harmless; and 2. That the discounts should be open for a week to all applicants who presented good and approved bills. He wrote to the minister, and suggested that Exchequer Bills, of limited amounts, should be issued for notes of three housekeeping traders at three months, and of four, or more, at longer dates. The salvation of commercial credit appeared to him worth the hazard of half a million. The die, however, was cast;

and, strange to relate, it appeared to him that an experiment of policy was making. O! Machiavel, how thou sinkest into insignificance! Thou never suggestedst an experimental means of ruining a whole people by a single blow!

The Author suffered his full share of the general calamity. Two banking-houses with which he was connected stopped on the same day; and, to complete his disaster, the agent to whom he had confided the sale of his literary property was involved, at the same hour, in the common ruin! Ease and domestic comfort were thus, as by the wand of enchantment, exchanged for anxiety and sorrow; and the luxury of doing good ceased to be indulged by the mistrust of all, the distress of all, and the apparent necessity that all would be destroyed to discover the sterling or naked worth of each!

The extinction of commercial credit had thus at a stroke destroyed full four hundred millions of the circulating wealth. All nominal obligations remained in their legal relations to that four hundred millions; but only forty millions of bank-notes and coin existed to meet at least ten times the amount; and as the disorder augments itself, so, without regarding other considerations, commercial bills and time engagements seem likely to be reduced to *two shillings in the pound*, if paid in money, or to stocks at depreciated value, with the intermediate ruin of the unhappy owners.

Such a state of a great people, great as they had been by their union and confidence, might, it would have been supposed, have drawn forth the energies

of the men entrusted with the conduct of the government. But, on the contrary, a frigid and incomprehensible indifference, judging by their actions, marked their conduct; and it was reported that a leading minister observed, *that the evil would work its own cure!* If any man did make such a remark, he ought to die the death of De Witt. It must have been a false report, or a misconception of its auditors! Yet little could be discovered as an act of the government, unless the pouring out of millions of bank-notes in an indiscriminate and utterly useless manner could be traced to them; not, however, to the efficient trading community, but to capitalists, bankers, and others, who in self-defence, or in alarm and fear, abstracted the whole from general use! The nation was therefore in the situation described in art. viii. page 224; and, owing to the grossest ignorance of the circulation of money, hundreds of families must be driven into foreign lands to enjoy their industry under a less imposing, but more steady and staple system.

From the exultation expressed at the recovery of the public funds, it might be supposed that the ministry regard the nation as a society of stock-jobbers; that they consider the debt as the wealth of the nation, and their exchequer bills as the foundation of its prosperity! A more heartless abandonment of a people to a panic in which they necessarily destroyed themselves,—and less skill in relieving and restoring the talent and property overwhelmed in the struggle,—cannot be conceived.

The whole is to be regarded as a phenomenon in

the history of nations. The state of England was itself a phenomenon. It stood before the world as the most wealthy and most improving of all countries,—not in population, in natural productions, or in specie; but in CREDIT, INDUSTRY, and MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. The contingency of such a country destroyed in a week could never have been anticipated either by reason or experience; but it is to be lamented that such an effect should have been allowed to take place without the smallest display of energy to parry and ameliorate the blow:—for credit and confidence are reared only by the good conduct of successive generations, and as that which has happened may at any time happen again, so the bases of British greatness are shaken; and that greatness, which arose solely from such qualities, has suffered a shock from which it can never fully recover.

Those who are ignorant of the true secret of British wealth and strength, will be taught by the Golden Rules for Bankers. In this peculiar system has lain the means which distinguish England in the reigns of George the Third and Fourth from those of Charles I. and II. Stop the credit of banks, obstruct the regular means of discounting commercial bills, and England falls to the state of Poland and Spain; that is, of a country without available capital. The vulgar have on this, as on other occasions, been the dupes of their short-sightedness. They aided by their folly in the run upon the banks, and actually rejoiced in their overthrow; but, as imme-

diate consequences, they have been discharged from employment by hundreds and by thousands. The narrow-minded land-owner, and the petty-fogging trader, fearful of his own shadow, imagine that something is gained by the destruction of that extent of credit which they never possessed the magnanimity to enjoy; but in a few months they will feel their error, and perish in the muck of their own selfishness. The purse-proud capitalist exclaimed, for a few days, "thank God, I am not as other men;" but by these, the public funds, and the revenue, the entire loss must be ultimately borne. The hue and cry about accommodation bills, and false credit, is absurd. They were partly the necessary means of the system, and tended essentially to support the false capital of eight hundred millions in the pretended public funds! If a few banks or commercial houses enjoyed a factitious and unwarranted credit, such excrescences would, in due course, have been cut off; but it is at once base and foolish to convulse the whole nation, and destroy all the just and necessary relations of society to effect a purpose which, in itself, was of no general consequence, and correct an abuse which grew up with the funded system, and was identified with it.

To insinuate that, in such an overthrow, things would find their own level, is as wicked as the observation of Louis the Fourteenth, who, when the Palatinate was ravaged, and 100,000 of its inhabitants massacred, replied that his good city of Paris would in a single night replace the loss. The expressions must have been made by kindred minds;

and, if made by any minister of England, he is as culpable as Louis, and ought, at least, to be considered as unworthy of his station.

We hear of bankers re-opening; but though creditable to them and disgraceful to the public, yet, *cui bono*, — Have they the same capital and the same spirit? Nothing of the kind: they are crippled for ever. Other banks, too, are crippled for years; and, if for years, for ever, as to any beneficial or efficient purpose.

Men, right-minded men, can flourish only in countries where commercial credit is identified with the policy of the state; where the ministers of the crown duly understand and respect the identity of both interests; and where, when one is endangered by a public panic, the other is cheerfully and anxiously seen to lend its aid and effective counteraction. This, however, is not, in regard to the Author, an abstract speculation; he is on a sudden drawn into the vortex of public suffering, and he laments with others that his fortunes are chained to a country liable to such frightful and destructive mutations. A man would rather live in the West India Islands, and suffer an annual hurricane, which affected his crops and out-buildings, amidst the sympathy of his neighbours, than be subject once in his life to a social tornado, which suddenly blasts his industry, involves his children and dearest connexions in hopeless ruin, occasions his resources to slip from under his feet, and almost renders suicide a virtue.

On *the 20th of January*, on putting this sheet to press, the Author is enabled to state, that all the unhappy results which he anticipated in the previous observations, have been fatally realized. No individual banker or capitalist became, or could be expected to become, the forlorn hope of commercial credit; and the government, as the proper guardians of the public interests to men in trade, omitting to do their obvious duty by issues of creditable Exchequer-bills, the wealth, strength, and prosperity, which flowed from mutual confidence, have been destroyed; and, in a commercial and financial sense, general social disorganization has been produced by an irrational and uncorrected social dismay.

The evil is, at the same time, increasing every day, because new failures are constantly taking place in every branch of trade; these involve their connexions and dependencies, till whole trades are implicated; and universal inability to meet engagements in money is the consequence.

Thus, on a sudden, by the action and re-action of such a social conflict, the four or five hundred millions of bills of exchange which constituted the negociable assets of trade, founded on two thousand millions of stocks, and the very means which enabled the people to pay the taxes, and carry all the arts of civilization to the highest pitch, have lost their value; and we have a population of traders and manufacturers encumbered by time engagements to that amount, with no means of liquidating them, but in

the remaining currency of forty millions of bank-notes and specie. It is evident, therefore, that the forty millions, even if in general circulation, and available, could only pay a TENTH, or TWO SHILLINGS IN THE POUND, on the bills in course of payment, taking the average of the nation; while the difference must intermediately fall on bill-holders and capitalists, and ultimately on insolvent stocks brought at once, and ruinously, to market!

Hitherto credit was sustained by circulation; old debts were paid by new ones, and one set of bills were cancelled by a new set. A man while in trade generally owed as much one year as another; and this is the essence of trade, and its characteristic under the most prosperous circumstances. Such has been its uniform system in Britain; where its energies, thus acting, and thus supported, have produced and sustained our wonderful financial prosperity.

This commercial debt, let it be understood, has risen simultaneously with the funded debt; and has been an undesigned and unsuspected artifice of men in trade, by means of which they counteracted the operation of the public debt, and were enabled to meet its demands on their industry. One debt is a reflection and an effect of the other; and, if the commercial debt is destroyed, the funded debt would lose the support, prop, and buttress, which upheld it in the industry of the people.

Is the funded system to be supported? If so, then commercial credit must be supported. They act in unison, like two ends of a lever. But it is absurd to

affect to respect commercial credit, and decry the banking system, and the credit of bills of exchange, in which consists the active circulating capital of men in trade. At the same time, the Author is no professed advocate of the funded system, nor of its necessary adjuncts; and society might, in his opinion, be more happy if no paper circulation existed: but let us be consistent—for, as great misery would result from the destruction of the funded system, as has arisen from the destruction of commercial credit; and the Author is unwilling to pass sentence of death and misery on the thousands of families who depend on the funds. He is not in the cabinet of the sovereign, or in the counting-house of the Jews, and he knows nothing of their ulterior designs; but he infers, from all that has passed within the last two months, that some design has been planned, and has been in action, which ought to awaken the jealousy of every father of a family in Britain.

With the credit of this generation, will necessarily disappear its trade and useful enterprise; and, as we have rivals both in Europe and America, and there are countries where Governments would not turn their backs on the working bees of the community, it can scarcely be expected that the former commercial prosperity of England can ever be restored. The rumoured Treaty with France will not effect its restoration, because our only ground of ascendency was our commercial credit, and the capital resulting from it; and this has been unwisely neglected, contemned, and destroyed.

Besides artizans employed in buildings and works of improvement, who have been discharged by tens of thousands, every report from the manufactories of London, and the country, proves that other tens of thousands have necessarily been discharged from them. The stoppage of country banks, and a maturity of obligations, will augment this class of miseries; and in this way, in the language of a Minister, "*the evil will work its own cure.*" The withdrawing of the loans of country bankers to farmers, and the various consequences of reduced circulation, will, of course, soon affect the agriculturists; and the landed interest will then echo the complaints of the commercial; and the distress, felt four or five years ago, will be renewed through the nation in all its horrors.

In the ruin of the commercial and agricultural interests, must follow that of the REVENUE and FUNDED SYSTEM. The prosperity of the latter, was the prosperity of the former; but it seemed to be the policy of certain persons, and the irrational wish of others, who hate the system or do not understand it, that an experiment should be made on commercial credit, even though, in "*working its own cure,*" it should place at hazard, or even destroy, the entire fabric of our national prosperity.

He now repeats, that it has proved utterly useless to pour forth millions of bank-notes to justly alarmed bankers and bank-discounters. The middling ranks of traders and manufacturers constitute the vital strength of the commercial system; and it was, and

is, this class who required special support. Five millions of Exchequer-bills might have effected all that was wanted, a month ago; but twenty-five would now scarcely effect the same purpose.

The nation look anxiously to Parliament for redress, and for an explanation of the cause of its meeting being deferred at a crisis when the fortunes of the country depended on the promptitude of its collective wisdom. If the commercial interest is duly stimulated by its actual sufferings, and the landed and funded interests by those in prospect, we may hope that Parliament will give a salutary lesson to Ministers; and that the plague which has fixed itself upon the nation will, without loss of time, be arrested in its frightful course.

If it be asked, what is best to be done by a people who, without any fault of their own, are on a sudden called upon to pay four hundred millions with less than forty, under the rigour of Bankrupt Commissions, the ignominy of Insolvent Courts, and all the machinery of special originals, executions, extents, &c. &c. ?—the Author replies, with the honest design of answering the question to the best of his judgment. He advises petitions and remonstrances to Parliament, individual and collective. If these fail, then he recommends that one hundred thousand fathers and mothers of ruined families make a procession, in all humility, from London to Windsor,—seek the retreat of the Sovereign in the recesses of the Forest, and make the discovery to him of the condition of his people, and of their hopeless situa-

tion, under ministers who consider their distresses as sanatory! If this fail, then the example of history points out emigration as the last resource. America is too distant for wives and children; but the accession of one or two millions of industrious families would probably induce the Kings of France and the Netherlands to build towns, with privileges, on the coasts of those countries, where, disentangled from the load of the national debt, industry may find a land of Canaan; and, at least, live in the hope of enjoying its proper reward.

Such are the plans of the Author: they grow out of the existing circumstances; and, that they may not be necessary,—that better policy may govern the councils of the State,—and that the pending calamities of the country may be promptly averted, —is his fervent wish.

THE END.

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APPENDIX

TO

GOLDEN RULES

FOR THE

STUDY OF NATURE.

I.—*Art.* XI.

THE doctrine of Attraction of every kind is rendered demonstrably absurd, by the following considerations:—

1. *Every motion of every body is in the direction of a force impressed.*
2. *Every special direction of the motion of any body affords evidence of the existence of some force acting in the same direction.*
3. *A body does not move without some impelling force acting in the direction of the motion.*
4. *Every impelling force is proportioned to the velocity and the quantity of matter of which the impelling force consists.*
5. *Without matter in velocity, there can be no impelling force.*
6. *The existence of any force, therefore, bespeaks the existence of matter in velocity, acting in the direction of the resulting force.*

If A and B move together, and meet in C

A○ . . . . C . . . . ○B

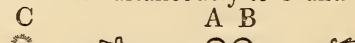
then A must be moved by some force from the side A; and B by some force from the part B. But, by the hypothesis of attraction, B is said to move A, though B is not only not on the side A whence the force proceeds; but, also, is not there in power, so that B cannot move A to C.

In like manner, A is said to move B; but A is not on the side B, where the force must be which is competent to move B to C.

Therefore A is not the mover of B, nor B the mover of A; and, universally, when bodies go together, it is not by their mutual actions for the like reasons; and the doctrine of such pretended mutual action must, therefore, in all cases whatsoever, be a logical, mechanical, and physical, absurdity, while the causes must be sought by other reasonings.

II.—*Art.* XII.

The doctrine of Repulsion is an absurdity as gross as that of attraction, because, if we suppose A and B to recede simultaneously to C and D



Then, as A moves to C, the moving force must be in that direction, or from A towards C; but B, the body said to repel, moves at the same time in a contrary direction from B to D; and, as resulting motions are in the direction of their forces, so the motions of B cannot be caused by the force of A during its contrary motion from A to C. So, also, in regard to A with reference to B. The recession cannot, therefore, be caused by any mutual action of the two bodies; and the doctrine for like reasons is, in all cases, a logical, mechanical, and physical, absurdity.

III.—*Art.* XIV.

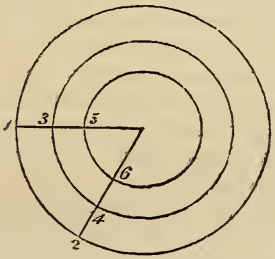
When theorists write so flippantly about centrifugal force, and liken the phenomena of the earth to those of a mop or a grindstone, they forget the simultaneous orbicular motion, which is sixty-eight times greater than the equatorial rotatory motion. As centrifugal motion is merely an effect of one motion, so it is neutralized, and may even be reversed, by any much greater simultaneous motion, in some other direction, either oblique or contrary; and, subject to such greater motion, the rotatory motion would then exert its full force in producing either mere equilibrium, or concentration and aggregation, in a resulting central force, governed by the excess of the orbicular motion over the rotatory.

IV.—*Art.* XV.

Many persons ask, with childish *naiveté*, why, when a stone has been projected into the atmosphere, it does not revolve and continue at the height to which it has been projected; as, say they, it is alleged that there is no attraction; forgetting, or choosing to forget, that the stone was raised simply

by the re-action of some animal or machine against the earth; and that, before it was raised, it had a tendency, so to speak, to fall lower, which is not destroyed by the temporary elevating force; but, by continually re-acting, contributes with the resistance of the air to destroy the temporary elevating force; and, when this is thereby dissipated, the original force acting as at first, carries the unsustained stone towards the centre of the mass of which it was, and still is, an integral part. Further, the *common* force which revolves the entire mass, is not competent to carry round a stone at that distance from the centre in equilibrium with the whole; and either the stone must move towards the centre into a circle of less velocity, or the centre must move towards the stone, and the earth itself become lop-sided, on account of the stone's elevation, which is absurd.

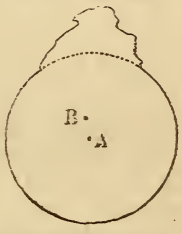
To render this clear, we will consider the concentric circles as representing strata of the earth.



Consequently the arcs 1, 2, and 3, 4, and 5, 6, are performed in equal times; and the velocities are less and less as we approach the centre. But the whole earth is turned by a *common* force, or by *one* force *common* to all the parts; consequently, every part will present, or acquire, or endeavour to acquire, an equal re-action; or, in other words, the momenta of every part will be equal, or endeavour to become equal. The velocities, however, are as the distances from the centre; consequently, the densities of each circle, to be in equal momenta, must be inversely as

the distance, or endeavour to become so; and hence the fall of dense bodies towards such circles of rotation, as are in length inversely as their relative densities; that is, the density at 1, 2, must be to the density at 5, 6, as the length of the arc 5, 6, is to that of 1, 2.

To render this more obvious, we will suppose a mountain to be placed on the side of a globe.



Now, previously to the addition of the mountain, the centre of motion was at A; but, as the centre of motion will be the centre of the entire mass, so the addition of the mountain carries the centre of motion to B, or nearer to the mountain.

The motion is now lop-sided, and an action and re-action takes place between the globular mass and the mountain, by which B is forced towards A, or the mountain is acted upon, as it were, so as to become absorbed in the mass.

All the parts of the mountain seek, therefore, the exterior circle of the mass, or tumble as fast as they can. But, if we suppose the top of the mountain to be only an unsustained stone, which, while partaking of the general motion, had been projected to that height; then such cause would not be competent to remove A to B, but the whole mass acting against the unsustained stone would bring it back towards A with a continuous force and accelerated velocity.

V.—*Art.* XXI.

The last figure will explain the cause of the TIDES.

Suppose such a mountain to be placed on the earth, and the centre of gyration carried from A to B; then, as the mobile waters would respect the centre of gyration, so they would rise around the mountain and render the entire mass elliptical.

But, if we now suppose the mountain to be elevated above and out of the mass, like the Moon, and the mechanical action to be still continued, B being raised to the centre of the momenta of both, like the fulcrum of the earth and moon; then the mobile waters would arise towards that fulcrum, just as they would towards the mountain.

The seas rise, therefore, towards the fulcrum of the earth and moon—the mechanical action of the distant moon being like that of a mountain on the earth—and towards the moon itself, because the fulcrum is in the right line which joins the centres of the earth and moon; while the mutual actions of the masses are connected by the gas of space, with a law of force which, in gas, is inversely as the squares of the distances, and directly as the masses.

VI.—*Art.* XXIV.

The re-action of the medium of space turns the planets from west to east, with a force which is governed by the variable action on their eastern sides, and which variation is as the square of the distance of their near and remote hemispheres; and a calculation of the variable forces corresponds to the 1000th part of a mile.

The hypothesis of gravitation is wholly inapplicable to this phenomenon. Action and re-action are necessarily co-equal and opposed, and a calculation of one is that of the other, for the rotation is not caused by the direct action or impulse, but by the re-action on the opposite side, which re-action turns the earth the contrary way; like a bowl projected on the ground, which, by the re-action, is turned or rotated backward as it were.

VII.—*Art.* XXVI.

Comets sometimes move *in consequentia,* and sometimes *in antecedentia,* proving thereby that their motions are independent of the solar vortex, though influenced by it in passing through it.

VIII.—*Art.* XXVIII.

We live within space essentially full, and this fulness or continuity of force uniting to force, constitutes the means of diffusing phenomena from one part to another. The atoms which fill space are not quiescent or united, but in constant relative motions, and this motion constitutes a perfect fluidity, or a facility of moving through the space so filled. The fixing or taking off of the motions of the atoms, generates animal energy and heat, and also the heat of flame. The propulsion of the atoms one by one in trains constitutes light; and the vibrations, or waves in mass, create what we call sound. Different sizes of atoms produce colours and tones. Our senses are immersed within this plenitude of atoms, and appropriately affected by their different modes of excitement: for every excitement extends around, and every termination, as at the eye, or ear, or skin, is like the action of one end of a stick when pushed at the other end; merely with this difference, that it is a radiation, and the energy at any distant point is inversely as the square of the distance; but the fulness joins us and connects us with every distant object within the space so filled. Hence the universe is one united and connected whole, and the varieties arise from the two laws and modes of connexion, one by unbroken continuity, as in solids, and the other by radiation, as in fluids and gasses; while, in these, other varieties are created by viscidity and density. In regard to these subjects, the errors of men have arisen from their considering every space as void in which they could not *see* matter and connexion, and in the silly notion that rarity and density are

occasioned by repulsive powers in the atoms, instead of such motions or rotations, as necessarily include the conditions of varied expansibility, excitement, and substantial continuity.

IX.—*Art.* XXXVIII.

The assumption made by the Author of the new Philosophy, that Gas consists of atoms performing *circular* rotations, or filling orbits proportioned to the excitement, startles many persons; but, on consideration, it will be found to be accordant with all the circumstances and phenomena.

This seems certain, that space, or space filled with gas, is, in some mode, filled with atoms; and there are only three ways in which they can exist.

1. In *quiescence*, at equal or different distances, exerting repulsion, while the principle of repulsion is absurd; and then qualities *per se* must be assigned to the atoms, which are again as absurd as repulsion itself.

2. In *rectilinear motions*, crossing each other, and filling the space as the common result of the presence of all, and the preponderance of particulars. But this would be a chaos of atoms without system or harmony; though even these obstructions would generate localized, circular action, in clouds of obstructed atoms.

3. In *curvilinear orbits*, resulting from rectilinear projections in the first instance, and then from obstructions, deflections, and reflections, from surfaces and atoms, which fill every known space; for, in due time, however great may be the impulsive force, or velocity of a projected atom, and however distant the obstruction may commence from the points of projection; yet, when it does commence, then the intervening space must be ultimately filled with deflected, and deflecting atoms, at first in confusion, but ultimately in regular motions, and circular, because this would be the necessary result of an infi-

nite number of cross re-actions, opposed at different angles to an original impulse.

Such would exactly explain the phenomena of gaseous elasticity and expansibility; the appropriation of more motion or heat by enlargement, and the return or restoration by compression or fixation. In a word, it explains all the phenomena of heat, light, sound, electricity, gassification, expansion, condensation, &c. &c. none of which can be explained, or reasoned about, on any other hypothesis.

Nevertheless, it is not pretended to explain how different gases combine in the same space, nor precisely in what the differences consist; whether they rotate within one another; whether in the same or different planes; whether the effects may not be varied by the direction of the plane of rotation; whether the atoms are of the same or different forms, or bulks, or densities; whether to fill corners of orbits, different sizes are not necessary; whether to fill centres, other varieties are not employed, &c.? All these, and many other questions, may amuse ingenuity for many ages, but they do not affect the general principle, that gazeous existence, universally, consists of atoms moving in circular orbits.

X.—*Art.* XLV.

When we view the form of an animal at a suitable distance, we hastily conclude that we see the creature which acts and lives; but, in truth, we see only his shell, and his organs of external power and motion. We see the skin, or case, which covers his muscles, and serves as a means of re-acting against them, and keeping them in their places; and, conjunctively with these, the nerves, blood-vessels, lacteals, sinews, tendons, &c. as so many adjuncts for various special, and even necessary uses, of the animal, but not the creature itself. The whole which we see is, in truth, analogous to the shell of a snail or periwincle; and, in looking at any animal, we see the

real creature not more than we see a snail or periwincle when we look at its shell. In truth, the real creature is as much out of sight, as a snail or periwincle when drawn within its shell. The actuality for whose use and support all these external adjuncts are provided; the identity which feels, reasons, acts, and is conscious, is the medullary system; that is, the brain and marrow, and the nerves, or feelers, which emanate and radiate from them. This is, or these are, the true animal, or real snail or periwincle, of which the solid house, shell, and case of protection, are the bones; and all the rest lying above the bones, and over, and around the bones, are mere adjuncts for the sustenance of the real creature or medullary system, or for the motions of the bones. The perceptions of hearing and seeing are effected by instruments for condensing, appropriating, and conveying, to the medullary system, certain delicate external excitements; while those of tasting, smelling, and feeling, arise from immediate impulse on nerves. The animal begins in the fœtus as a medullary system like a tadpole; it is then covered and clothed in the womb with bones and adjuncts; it emerges, and is educated and disciplined by the world; it wears out, loses its energies, and death is the loss of power in the medullary system.

Every animal, therefore, with reference to its sensations, volitions, and motions, as distinguished from a vegetable or mechanical mass, consists in reality of the soft pulpy substance called brains, marrow, and nerves, with a bony case, which case is moved by the muscles fixed to them, called flesh. The animal, shut up in this case, derives intelligence from without by means of holes in the case, as the eye-holes and the ear-holes, and these are possessed by all animals. The animal also sends out threads of its medullary substance over the body for universal feeling, and certain parts are exposed, as the nerves for tasting and smelling. This pulpy creature has its centre in

the skull case, where is situated its outlets of communication, and where it perceives, thinks, reasons, and decides. Its extensions in the back-bone case have reference merely to the system of motion; and this part, impelled by the centre or brain, according to intelligence from without, governs the motions of the frame, either for convenience, pleasure, or necessity. We are not, therefore, to suppose we see any animal in looking at its external structure, for we see only the form of the adjuncts of motion, and the protecting case, while the animal, or essential creature itself, is a close prisoner within the bony case, and never visible or exposed during its life. To drag it out of the bony case, or to destroy the case, and expose it to any rude action, even of external air, is to kill and destroy it. Nor does it exist *per se*, but it depends on excitements and sustenance, received by the lungs, the stomach, and the blood; and the chief part of its own functions consist in rendering these accessory to its own comforts, habits, and existence; the intermediate products being results of the action and re-action of pairs of organs; and the whole animal resembling a vegetable, whose roots are turned inside, and to which soil, or food, is applied in the cavity of the stomach.

XI.—*Art.* LXXXV.

In regard to these speculations, promulgated in correction of gross and degrading superstitions in natural philosophy, the Author would consult his peace by forbearing to publish, if he did not know and were not enabled to derive confidence from the facts, that ARISTOTLE was banished Athens, that ROGER BACON was proscribed, that COPERNICUS durst not publish till death had removed him from the hazard of persecution, that GALILEO was imprisoned, obliged to retract, and read the penitential psalms, that KEPLER lived in neglected poverty, and lost his life in riding after a pension of 20*l.* a-

year to keep his family from starving, that DESCARTES, who founds his philosophy on the belief of God, was persecuted as an Atheist, that NEWTON lamented he had ever become an author, that PRIESTLEY was hunted out of his country because he denied some dreams of theology; and, as all these atrocities merely cover the several ages, and the contemporary princes and powers, with ignominy and infamy, and serve to emblazon the sufferers with more resplendant glory; so the Author bears with meekness, and even with pity, the insults and taunts of ignorance, conceit, and folly, of which he often sees himself made the butt and object. Patience and self-confidence are the only remedies in such cases, though primary questions always exist in regard to the true importance of the points in dispute, and the reality of discovery. Vanity and error have probably led hundreds to assimilate their cases to those of the eight distinguished martyrs named above, and men often give themselves airs about the veriest trifles, and, with idle pride, vaunt their originality; discrimination therefore is difficult, but, in general, the re-action of opponents affords an unequivocal test. If these are gentle, argumentative, and little affected, the author may or may not have made a discovery; but, if they are violent and abusive, then the value of the discovery may be estimated by the measure of violence or abuse; for epithets, and insults, will rise in malignity, just as the author is unanswerable or important. Rage and envy, in such cases, stifle all argument; and, in proportion as the weapons of reason are found useless, the malignity of the passions always rise. Foul language used by disputants instead of syllogisms, sarcasm instead of argument, and passion in place of reason, are signs of malignant re-action, and are always to be received as infallible tests of merit in a cause; and, proved by these overt acts, an author ought to be perfectly convinced of the indubitable truth of the doctrines which he has pro-

mulgated, while any excess of excitement proves that they are important enough even to have a chance of flourishing through future ages.

Nevertheless, in this case, it deserves to be recorded that, except in the instance of Mr. W. Frend, in his annual volume, no living writer has, within seven years, publicly avowed his accordance with the Author. Two or three anonymous writers have been courteous, and about a hundred private persons have addressed letters of eulogy to him; but none of them, though many avow the sentiment of fear, have had the hardihood to become public partizans. On the other hand, in fifty printed works of science and professed criticism, the Author has seen himself reviled and caricatured, his opinions ridiculously perverted, and wilfully and studiously misrepresented, and then easily and triumphantly refuted; while, horrible as is the fact, and disgraceful as it is to human nature, he declares that, instead of his interest, honour, or comfort, being in any degree served or augmented, by the promulgation of any truths, philosophical, moral, or literary, he verily believes that passion, prejudice, or ignorance, have rendered his labours disadvantageous to him in many relations of society and enjoyments of life!

Such, however, always was human nature, such now is human nature; and such, without special corrections, always will be human nature. It ought not to be so; it need not be so; with very slight arrangements, it might be otherwise, and, that it may be otherwise, the melancholy fact is proclaimed!

Some of the causes have been developed in the chapter on Truth; but perhaps, before the year 2500, institutions for protecting truth will be adopted in all well regulated countries, and the discoverers of new truths, through the activity, discrimination, and public virtue of such guardians, receive honours and rewards, instead of suffering insults and proscription.

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